

SOME MEMORIALS
OF
JOHN HAMPDEN,
HIS PARTY, AND HIS TIMES.

BY
LORD NUGENT.

TWO VOLUMES.
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ERRATA.—VOL. II.

PAGE 41, line 14, for 'had been the creatures of,' read 'had grown under.'

„ 77, last line but one from the bottom, for 'began' read 'began.'

„ 119, note, line 5, for 'number' read 'numbers.'

„ 302, lines 10 and 11, for 'were slain the Lord Bernard Stewart and the Lord Aubigny,' read 'was slain the Lord Aubigny.'

PART THE SIXTH.

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SOME

MEMORIALS OF JOHN HAMPDEN,

HIS PARTY AND HIS TIMES.

It has been already remarked that two other very important measures were proceeding, separately and independently, at an equal pace with the impeachment of Lord Strafford. These were to deprive the Bishops of votes in Parliament, by a bill prohibiting the exercise of any civil office by clergymen; and to provide, by what was called the Triennial Bill, that parliaments should be holden at intervals of not longer than three years at the most. By the Triennial Bill it was endeavoured to secure the country from the arbitrary courses which the king had been enabled to pursue during the long intermission of parliaments. But precarious and ineffectual would such an

ment be as a security against any King who might resolve to govern without parliaments and in opposition to law. For the provisions of the bill itself could only be guarded by the parliamentary power of impeaching the minister under whose advice the King should infringe them; and the very act of infringing them by governing without parliaments would be the minister's guarantee against impeachment. This law provided indeed that, in case the king should refuse to summon a parliament within the time prescribed, the Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal might issue writs for summoning the Peers, and for the election of the Commons; and that, if the Chancellor or Keeper should neglect to do it, any twelve of the Peers might summon the parliament, and that if the Peers should neglect to issue the necessary summons, the sheriffs of the counties and other magistrates respectively might proceed to the election; and, should they refuse, then that the freeholders of each county might elect their members; and that the members so chosen should be obliged under severe penalties to attend*

* Parl. Hist.—Guthrie.

The passing of this bill was received with publick rejoicings, and the thanks of both houses were solemnly tendered to the King upon his pronouncing the Royal assent. It doubtless was giving a large power to the people. But it was at best a law which, in extreme cases, (and it was a law intended to meet extreme cases only,) would have failed before a tyrannical King, and a resolute minister, with an army to back them. For in those times during a cessation of parliaments, the publick voice spoke through but imperfect organs. The press had not influence to assist it either by calling publick meetings of the people or by directing their deliberations when called.

The Bill affecting the Bishop's votes was, even separately considered, a measure of primary importance in the eyes of the country party. Apart from every vindictive feeling, which could not but have had it's influence against an order under whose intolerance the separatists of England and the churchmen of Scotland had so severely suffered, and apart from all considerations of the character and deportment of the persons then composing the

Hierarchy, the political functions of churchmen were regarded by the Puritans generally as founded on an abuse, and tending to a profanation, of the Ecclesiastical Institution. It was so considered, doubtless, by the Presbyterians, in whose estimation the temporalities of the prelates were, like their spiritual powers, an ample remnant of the abhorred discipline of Rome. It was considered so, in an equal degree, by the Independents, who had grafted their love of civil liberty on the profession of a religion 'whose kingdom is not of this world.'

There was no country, except the papal dominions themselves, where an alliance with the state had led the Churchmen into such shameless servility as in England. The established Church of England had, although possessing some of the ablest ministers of any time, become exceedingly corrupt. In proportion to what she felt to be the growing distaste in which her corruptions were held by the people did she seek support from the Crown, by making her sacred functions subservient to its arbitrary purposes, and by offering to the person of the Sovereign the basest and most impious measure of adu-

lation. Nor had she even the incomplete excuse that this was by any means the sin at that time prevailing elsewhere. The Churchmen of other countries were rich, powerful, and proud. But whatever was their wealth, their power, and their pride, they sought support rather from the austere dignity of their discipline than from the protection of their courts. They commanded rather than solicited the alliance of the state, and more by their spiritual than by their temporal influence over the people. In Holland, the Statholder was lectured by the clergy in his State-House, and the excesses of even his dull and æconomical court were subjects of unsparing pulpit invective equally from the privileged Calvinist and the dissenting Arminian.

Nor can this be attributed solely to the republican spirit of the government, or the religion of the Dutch provinces. For, at the same period, a class of eloquent state divines of the Roman Catholick Faith were rising up under the Regency of arbitrary France; and, almost before the generation of which we are now treating had passed away, the court preachers of that monarchy, Bossuet, Massillon, and

Bourdaloue, were wielding the thunders of the other world in presence of one of the most formidable if not the most unscrupulous of the princes of this earth, and were speaking to him of his duties as reciprocal with the allegiance of the people over whom he reigned* ; while, in the court of Charles the Second, the Clergy of England were covering the footstool of a less powerful, but if possible a more unprincipled tyrant than even Lewis the Fourteenth, with addresses high charged with the

* There is a passage in one of the sermons preached by Massillon, before Lewis the Fourteenth and his court, during the boyhood of that sovereign, which, besides its eloquence, is well deserving admiration for the boldness, worthy of better times and a better audience, with which it lays down the nature of the Royal trust, its origin, and its duties. ‘ Un Grand, un Prince, n’est pas né pour lui seul. Il se doit à ses sujets. Les peuples, en l’élevant, lui ont confié la puissance et l’autorité ; et se sont réservés en échange ses soins, son temps, sa vigilance Ce sont les peuples qui, par l’ordre de Dieu, les ont fait tout ce qu’ils sont ; c’est à eux à n’être ce qu’ils sont que pour les peuples. Oui, Sire, c’est le choix de la nation qui mit d’abord le sceptre entre les mains de vos ancêtres. C’est Elle qui les éleva sur le bouclier militaire, et les proclama souverains. Le royaume devint ensuite l’héritage de leurs successeurs. Mais ils le dûrent originellement au consentement libre des sujets. Leur naissance seule les mit ensuite en possession du trône. Mais ce furent les suffrages publics qui attachèrent d’abord ce droit et cette prérogative à leur naissance. En un mot : comme la première source de leur autorité vient de Nous, les Rois n’en doivent faire usage que pour Nous.’—*Petit Carême. Ecueils de la Piété.*

doctrines of divine right and the obligations of non-resistance.

The pluralities, also, had long been matter of grievous and very general complaint. ‘For the Bill,’ says Archbishop Bancroft, in a letter to James the first, in 1610, ‘that is in hand against pluralities, it is the same that, for above forty years, from parliament to parliament, hath been rejected; and that very worthily.’

‘Religio peperit Divitias, et Filia devoravit Matrem,’ said Lord Falkland in his speech concerning episcopacy. And in no history has the truth of this saying been oftener or more strikingly shewn than in that of England both before and since the Reformation. Even the Reformation was rendered popular not so much by the pressure of the Church revenues on the wealth and industry of the country, as by the laxity of habits among the Churchmen, which it was believed that the overgrown amount of those revenues had tended to promote. The reforming of long established canons of faith and discipline is an enterprise too bold for the generality of men to contemplate with cheerfulness, unless under the excitement of some practical grievance which is seen and felt. Few undertake

to decide on controversial points of belief; all can judge of the accordance or discrepancy of the manners of the clergy with true religion. Indeed no hierarchy, and no creed, has ever been overthrown by the people, on account only of its theoretical dogmas, so long as the practice of the clergy was incorrupt and conformable with their professions.

Soon after the first settlement of the Reformation, at all events from the beginning of James's reign, the prelates had adopted a mistaken view not only of the duties but of the interests also of the body which they represented. They were startled at the natural and inevitable workings of the spirit which their immediate predecessors had evoked to assist them in their great work. They looked back instead of forward, and neglected to cultivate to their advantage those improving resources which the disenthralled genius of free discussion now opened before them and before the people. Though willing from time to time to call in the vices of popular enthusiasm to abet them in persecuting the religion over which the virtuous energies of the people had helped the reformers to triumph, they yet looked back to the pomp and power which the

unreformed church had possessed ; and occasionally they took not only the persons of the Roman Catholicks under their protection but their ceremonies also into observance. Above all, finding that the principles of the Reformation had tended to bring matters of civil right also into debate, they had unwisely persisted in siding with the Crown in the controversy. With singular inconsistency, they joined to the doctrine of a divine right of Kings to their prerogative the doctrine of a divine right of Bishops to their temporalities, plainly incompatible with the King's supremacy as recognised at the head of the first enacting clause of every act of Parliament, and incompatible equally with the tenure by which every Bishop admits in the form of homage that he holds his temporalities of the King. They had openly asserted their divine origin in their sermons and charges, and had significantly glanced at it in the new canon of 1640. It was boldly and well remarked in Parliament that ' even a Pope at Rome was more tolerable than a Pope at Lambeth*.'

* Sir Benjamin Rudyard's speech, Collection of Speeches, published 1648.

The Roman Catholicks, on their part, had been scarcely less improvident. They were elated with the protection and connivance which they received. ‘They were not,’ says Lord Clarendon, ‘prudent managers of their prosperity;’ but, putting themselves forward to make and to boast their converts, and to shew their zeal, as a body, for the King, when it was dangerous for them to be seen, as a body, at all, they became conspicuous opponents to the leading party in the House of Commons who were backed by a merciless penal code and urged forward by the cherished intolerance of the people. Thus the Roman Catholicks brought encreasing hatred and danger on themselves, and, by implication, on their friends also. Meanwhile the Court of Rome could not be expected to adopt a wiser policy. Its views were formed upon the sanguine representations of its English adherents. The approaching downfall of the Arch Heresy of the west was openly proclaimed. The name and influence of the Queen were rendered still more odious to the Protestants by an exaggerated estimate of her power in religious matters over the mind of her husband. Charles

was announced to the Roman Catholics of Europe as favourable to their faith, and it is said that a Cardinal's hat was more than once offered to Laud himself. If this be true, credulous indeed was the Court of Rome to suppose that the time was ripe for engaging the Primate of England to bow his ambition before that of a foreign church, and ill indeed informed not to know that Henrietta Maria was to the full as jealous of Laud as she was of Strafford, and had been of Buckingham ; and for the same reason, a natural antipathy to any Minister who might be powerful enough to interfere with her influence over the King. Panzani and Rosetti were successively received, contrary to the law of England, as Nuncios from Rome, and another Priest, a Scotchman, was deputed to be the Queen's confessor. It was, besides, known as a secret to the friends of the court, and, therefore, as such secrets usually are, to its opponents also, that Brett was, likewise, contrary to law, residing at Rome as an envoy and agent from Charles*.

To a spirit and ambition hereditary in a

* Clarendon Papers.

daughter of Henry the Fourth, the Queen joined none of her father's prudence or moderation. In vain was she warned by the advice of her mother, who, during a visit of more than a year in England, had, by the modesty of her demeanour, particularly with reference to religious observances, called forth, in spite of popular animadversion, a willing testimony of approbation from some of the country party*. Mary of Medicis, it is true, has been represented by many writers as having been deeply engaged in the popish intrigues; but, as it appears, without sufficient evidence. She was on one occasion assaulted by a mob as she returned from mass, and was finally driven out of England by popular clamour; but these insults were brought upon her rather by her daughter's imprudence than by any act of her own. Resolutions were passed, complaining of the encroachments of Henrietta upon law and treaty; and these remonstrances were made all the more significant by the warm and lavish support given by the leaders of the country party to an

* Journals, 12th May.—See Lord Holland's Speech.—Collection of Speeches, published 1648.

encrease of her civil establishment, in return for her promise of being more cautious in future not to give scandal by an ostentatious and illegal display of the pomps of her religion*.

The committees on religion, and the resolutions concerning copes and crosses, bowings and genuflexions, and tables put altar-wise, and pictures in churches, were by no means idle or capricious assaults upon the innocent

* See Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's Speech, Collection, 1648. For an account of Panzani's and Rosetti's agency at the English court, as given by the Conte Mayolino Bisaccioni, see Appendix A.

The particulars in which this account, the main points of which there is no doubt are true, differs from that given of the same transaction by Lord Clarendon, are curious. When compared with the King's answer to the remonstrance of the two houses, February 3, it gives another instance of his duplicity. It is but just, however, to believe, that his refusal to purchase the Pope's succours at the price demanded, proceeded as much from sincere attachment to the Protestant religion of the Church of England as from the conviction of the impracticability of the terms proposed by Rosetti; and there is even reason to suppose that many parts of this negociation were fresh in his remembrance during the declarations, to which he so often called God to witness afterwards, even on the scaffold, that he had never contemplated the introduction of popery! At the same time the whole of the secret history of this mission surely justifies, in their fullest extent, the jealousies which the Parliament entertained of the Romish emissaries, it's hostility to Windebanke and Weston, and it's determination to break up the influence of the Queen's household.

forms under which particular congregations sought to worship God. These things were not harmless, as innovations on the discipline of the reformed religion, or as symptoms of relapse into the discipline of the old; they were the symbols under which the high church, compromising with popery, was proceeding to scandalize, discredit, and persecute the Puritans. And he is but a careless observer of the affairs of men and states who fails to see that such are the means by which great passions are often set at work, and great moral effects not unfrequently produced. Political symbols are often of too much importance to be neglected by practical statesmen. But how formidable are they when they assume a religious shape, and appeal, through the outward senses of men, to things above the limits of this world?

Mr. Hume says that the different appellations of ' Sunday, which the Puritans affected ' to call the Sabbath *, were at that time known ' symbols of the different parties,' and he treats the opposition to the innovations of the court clergy as only a ' poisonous infusion of theolo-

* History of England, chap. l.

gical hatred.’ ‘On account of these,’ says he*, ‘were the popular leaders content to throw the government into such violent convulsions; and, to the disgrace of that age and of this island, it must be acknowledged that the disorders in Scotland entirely, and those in England mostly, proceeded from so mean and contemptible an origin†.’ What

* Hist. of England, chap. liv.

† ‘Some persons,’ says Hume, ‘partial to the patriots of this age, have ventured to put them in balance with the most illustrious characters of antiquity, and mentioned the names of Pym, Hampden, and Vane, as a just parallel to those of Cato, Brutus, and Cassius. Profound capacity, indeed, undaunted courage, extensive enterprize,—in these particulars, perhaps, the Romans do not much surpass the English worthies. But what a difference when the discourse, conduct, conversation, and private as well as publick behaviour of both are inspected! Compare only one circumstance, and consider its consequences. The leisure of those noble ancients was totally employed in the study of Grecian eloquence and philosophy, in the cultivation of polite letters and civilized society: the whole discourse and language of the moderns were polluted with mysterious jargon, and full of the lowest and most vulgar hypocrisy.’ (Hist. chap. liv.) Vane was one of the most accomplished men of his age; and his speculations, though warmed by the zeal of a persecuted and insulted sect, were chastened by the study of the purest models of ancient philosophy. How far ‘mysterious jargon and vulgar hypocrisy’ are justly imputable to Hampden, we have already seen enough of the style of his writing and conduct of his life to be in some sort able to determine. The short pungent insinuation thrown out by Mr. Hume against Vane, at the

has been already said of the opposition raised to certain compliances with popish discipline, may be urged with equal fairness to justify the jealousy with which all the relicks of it's ceremonial were regarded by a party still sore from oppression and insult.

It is idle to contend that the means of persecution which the high church had exercised were now destroyed by the Puritans having become the dominant party in the House of Commons, and by the House of Commons having become, in some respects, the ruling power of the Parliament, and by the Parliament having become strong enough to overawe the Court. All this, doubtless, is true in part; but granting that it were entirely so, how had this popular influence been secured? By calling in the reforming principle to act against church abuses. These abuses were only checked, not crushed, while any political power re-

conclusion of the memorable passage descriptive of the leaders of the Long Parliament at its opening, (*ibid.*) deserves notice. 'The enthusiastick genius of young Vane, extravagant in the ends which he pursued, sagacious and profound in the means which he employed, incited by the appearances of religion, negligent of the duties of morality.' For the concluding antithesis there is not the slightest justification in fact.

mained with a hierarchy whose intemperance had been inflamed by successful resistance, and whose reign of active persecution was so recent, and still ready, upon any opportunity, to be renewed by the same hands. Hampden had, from the beginning of his publick life, opposed these innovations as a pure and zealous Christian. But, on the principles of civil liberty only, he would have been bound to guard against the revival of the high church ascendancy, now half subdued in it's attempts to force free conscience. Archbishop Neile, fortunately for himself, was now dead. Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells, and Dr. Cozens, dean of Durham, had boldly proceeded to make levies of publick money in those dioceses for the building of high altars, where they had established boys with tapers to serve at the communion, a consecrated knife to cut the sacramental bread, and almost all those outward appearances of a mass which had some years before been introduced with so much scandal at the consecration of St. Paul's, by Laud. Cozens, indeed, had gone so far as to declare that the reformers, 'when they took away the mass,

‘ had, instead of a reformed, made a deformed ‘ religion.’ He had denied the King’s supremacy over the church, saying that ‘ the King ‘ had no more power over the church than the ‘ boy who rubbed his horse’s heels.’ And all these doctrines he had made practical by his violent persecution of Smart the prebendary, whose case was just now beginning to be subject of a Parliamentary enquiry, conducted by Hampden*. Hampden also undertook the case against Wren, bishop of Ely ; and served on the committee of thirty which had been appointed, February 10, to consider the matter of church government†.

On these questions Selden’s was a singular course. His great mind, stored with profound learning, and guided by a pure and lofty integrity, was not unfrequently capricious and impracticable in the affairs of a party ; sometimes, in spite of his mild and humble temper, sanctioning extreme propositions, and sometimes deviating into scrupulous debates on points of mere form and nicety, little suited

* Parliamentary History.—Rushworth.

† For Sir Ralph Verney’s account of the proceedings of this Committee, as given in his MS, notes in the possession of Sir Harry Verney, see Appendix B.

to a time when a rapid and determined spirit was so important to the popular cause. On the examinations and report of this committee he took a decided part, denying the sole power of ordination in the bishops, and concurring in the report against their civil jurisdiction. Yet, in the debates on the question of whether the bishops sat in Parliament as barons or as prelates, he gave it as his opinion that they sat as neither, but as representatives of the clergy. This, opening up again the whole question of separate jurisdiction, led to the reply, that the clergy were already represented out of Parliament in convocation, and in the end, tended powerfully to the exclusion of the spiritual Lords from Parliament. Selden afterwards concurred with the leaders in framing the Grand Protestation to maintain the Doctrine of the Church, and the person and authority of the King, privileges of Parliament, and rights of the Subject.

It is not true, as has been insinuated, that the bill to restrain the clergy from the administration of secular affairs had the purpose of debarring Strafford from the assistance of the votes of persons favourable to his cause ;

for, astounded at the commitment of Laud, and at the proceedings announced against certain of the judges, and willing to compound with the popular party, the bishops had spontaneously declared that, as spiritual persons, they could take no part in a matter of blood. Besides, Pym, the great author and conductor of the proceedings against the Earl, was but a faint supporter of the bill to restrain the bishops from voting; and, on the further measures for abolishing Episcopacy, he was openly opposed to Hampden, Vane, Hazelrigge, Fiennes, Sir Edward Deering, Harry Martin, and Lord Say, by whom that course was urged in the two houses. Nor can it be at all true, as Lord Clarendon would have it believed upon the alledged authority of Lord Falkland, that some persons, well wishers to the church establishment, were betrayed into voting for the first Bill against the Bishops, by false assurances as to the limits at which the attack upon the temporal powers of the church was to stop.

According to Clarendon, Hampden's engagement to Lord Falkland was, that he would proceed no further against the clergy,

if the bill respecting their votes in Parliament and their holding of civil offices should pass. But the two universities petitioned; and the whole high church party, with Williams at their head, whose notions of ecclesiastical prerogative had risen with his elevation to the archbishoprick of York, determined to abandon the wiser policy to which, for a short space, some of them had inclined, and in their speeches declared that the claims of the bishops to vote in Parliament rested on the foundations of divine right. The wise and moderate compromise, proposed by Archbishop Usher*, was scouted

* The course taken by the illustrious primate (Usher) throughout the disputes on church government was most grievous to the party of the prelates. This is shewn by the virulent terms in which Dr. Heylin attacks his memory, in his pamphlet entitled 'Respondet Petrus,' describing the articles of Dublin, drawn up by Usher, as having been part of a plot of the Sabbatarians and Calvinists. In his arbitration between high and low church, the influence of Usher's reputation was even more powerful than that which his station as Primate gave him. His early victory over Beaumont the Jesuit, in the controversy at Lord Peterborough's at Drayton House, whereby, instead of Lady Peterborough's being reconciled to her lord's religion, her lord himself was brought over to the Protestant faith, and, his triumph, twenty years after, over Archbishop Bramhall's attempt to introduce the English canons into Ireland, had given him a name which kept even Laud in fear. This influence was heightened by

by his brethren; and that bill was accordingly rejected in the Lords by a great majority. How, then, did Hampden depart from his engagement to Falkland? On the contrary, Hampden seems, by Clarendon's shewing, to have proceeded in conformity with the very condition which he had proposed. Of the many instances in which the grave and searching mind of Lord Clarendon has blinded itself by looking at facts through the heated glare of its own resentments, there is none more remarkable than this violent and self-contradicting charge, insinuated, as is not unusual with him, on the words of another person, loosely quoted*. It is clear that, for

the moderate and intermediate course which he took in his 'Brief Treatise,' 1641, in which, upholding the apostolical origin of Episcopacy, 'not to be dispensed with, except in cases of necessity,' he recommends the separately dealing with the secular power of the bishops, as a matter of state arrangement.—See Usher's 'Brief Treatise,' and 'Parr's Life of Usher.' See also Andrew Marvell's 'Rehearsal Transposed.'

* After these times, particularly about the end of 1642, when the Parliament's affairs were going ill, and when men of the more temporizing sort were looking for an accommodation on any terms, it was very much the fashion with such of them as had voted against the bishops, to atone for it by accusing Hampden and Lord Say of having misled them. There is a speech of Lord Pembroke's in the House of Lords, Dec. 19, 1642, in which he accuses 'some' of having promised him, that if they put the bishops out

some time, Hyde had viewed, with the jealousy of a rival, Hampden's influence over the mind of Falkland; and this accounts for the uncontrollable bitterness with which he always speaks of Hampden.

But, from the time of the rejection of that bill by the Lords, it appears that Hampden, quitting the more moderate course, was considered to be of the party who supported the London Petition for the abolishing of Episcopacy, 'root and branch.' To say merely that an extreme resistance to a more moderate proposition generally provokes to those which are more violent, is not enough;—it is not putting this case fairly or truly. If, as Falkland maintained, it were really neces-

of the Lords' house no further attempt should be made upon the church. This was instantly, and rather contemptuously, answered thus by Lord Brooke on behalf of Lord Say, who seems to have been particularly alluded to. 'The lord who spake last invited you 'by his eye to think a noble lord on the viscount's bench concerned. 'Tis true several discourses have passed between them 'in my hearing of this business; and, 'tis very like, he did not 'usually acquaint him with all his thoughts If he hath done 'nothing but what his conscience persuaded him was just and fit, 'he hath no cause to complain; if otherwise, I am sure nothing 'that my friend said to him can be his excuse. I fear these vile 'considerations have hung plummets on some of our wings.'—Lord Brooke's Speeches, among Mr. Staunton's tracts.

sary for the well being of both Church and State that the temporal power of the clergy should be curtailed, it is difficult to see what other course was left, after the determination of the Lords, but to proceed by 'root and branch.' If, with Lord Falkland, we admit the first position, we cannot easily avoid the conclusion to which, under altered circumstances, Hampden came on the second.

Among those by whom, in conjunction with Hampden, the abolition of Episcopacy now began to be urged in the two houses, Lord Say, Lord Kimbolton, Nathaniel Fiennes, and the younger Vane, were prominent.

Lord Say is generally described as of a shrewd mind, and a persevering and resolute temper. It is difficult to come to a true conclusion as to the moral character of a man whose motives it was the business of the contending writers of those times to extol or vilify in almost equally exaggerated measure. And, by even the writers in these times in which we live, the history of Charles and of his Parliaments seems as though it were fated never to be approached but as a contested field on which the battles of liberty.

and prerogative were to be in dispute still and for ever. Nor is this all;—each particular character is considered as it were a vantage ground to be fiercely assailed or obstinately maintained; and as each, in its turn, surrenders to the assault, or repels it, the victorious party sends up a cry of triumph as though the flag of a great cause were planted upon the outwork of an enemy. The lapse of almost two centuries has scarcely mitigated this spirit; and every historian, who will deal truly, must own, as he proceeds, how hard it is to quell this spirit in himself, and how doubtful he must be, in the end, whether he have succeeded in the first moral duty which he has deliberately undertaken, that of being, to the utmost of his power, impartial. The safest way to form his judgement of disputed facts, and especially of disputed characters, is to rely rather on the admissions of adverse than on the assertions of friendly parties; and, above all, he must remember, in his endeavour to unravel the truth, that many more passions were at work in those times unfairly to break down reputations than undeservedly to extol them.

Clarendon suggests a doubt of the sincerity of Lord Say's advice to Charles to urge the Lords in person to spare the life of Strafford; but without stating a reason to support the doubt, or to justify the suggestion. The noble historian, in like manner, insinuates a charge of avarice and corruption against Lord Say, in his acceptance of the Mastership of the Court of Wards; confessing, however, that that high office was afterwards thrown up by him, under an impulse of party zeal, when refusing to obey the summons to attend the King at Oxford. Clarendon also admits that he was of 'good reputation with many who were not discontented.' May and Viccars speak of his great abilities and unimpeached honour, in terms which shew that the party to which they belonged considered him as one with whom it might be proud to associate it's own character and that of it's cause; and Whitelocke, writing after the Restoration, represents him as 'a person of great parts, wisdom, and integrity,' imbued with the loftiest spirit of patriotism. His appointment to the privy seal, under Charles the Second, he obtained

and held without taint or suspicion of change of principle, and, as far as can be traced, without any of those unworthy compliances which have cast a shade over the memories of many who only transferred their services from the Commonwealth to thrive in office under the restored King; and whose inconstancy, 'under change of times,' it was ever the inclination of their new master rather to display than to assist them in disguising.

We are left then to conclude that a man so praised and so blackened was one with qualities of mind and courage sufficient to make him deeply revered and violently hated.

Nathaniel Fiennes, his son, who had already risen, at an early age, to great consideration and eminence in the country party, was, in the common admission of all, a person of abilities at least equal to his father's. Like his father, after a youth spent in an active and uncompromising support of the popular cause, he enjoyed favour under the restored government, without any imputation of dishonourable compliance with the altered spirit of the times. Clarendon says of him that, 'besides the credit and reputation of his father, he had a very good stock of estimation in the

‘ House of Commons upon his own score ; for
‘ truly he had very good parts of learning and
‘ nature, and was privy to, and a great manager
‘ in, the most secret designs from the begin-
‘ ning ; and, if he had not encumbered himself
‘ with command in the army, to which men
‘ thought his nature not so well disposed, he
‘ had sure been second to none in those coun-
‘ sels, after Mr. Hampden’s death.’ His edu-
cation at Geneva, and perhaps also the con-
nexions into which, after his return, he was
early thrown, had tended to excite in an
ambitious and generous mind a thorough
abhorrence of the course of church govern-
ment in England. Wiser than Hazelrigge,
and as much disposed to be forward in sup-
porting or proposing the strongest measures,
he and the younger Vane had, from the begin-
ning of this Parliament, become useful and
powerful leaders.

With these also must be mentioned Lord
Kimbolton, now rising high in esteem among
those whom Clarendon calls ‘ the select junto.’
He was a well-bred man, of popular manners
and address, and generally beloved not only
on his own account, but on that of his father
and uncle, both of whom had lived to a vene-

rable age with honour and reputation ; the former for many years holding the office of Lord Privy Seal. Early separating himself from their politicks, and becoming intimate with some of the leaders of the popular party by his marriage with the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, Kimbolton had, says Lord Clarendon, ‘ as full power in the House of Commons as any man.’ *

A stock table was kept at Pym’s lodgings in Gray’s-Inn-Lane, where these, and a few others the most in each other’s confidence, transacted business. Thither Hyde was often invited, until, perceiving in conversation with Fiennes and Martin the lengths to which they were prepared to go, he withdrew himself, and Colepepper, from their society. Colepepper and Hyde were soon after sent for by the King, and commanded by him to meet from time to time in council upon his affairs †.

With less show of justification, Digby, too, having now entirely changed his course, was received into open favour by the Queen, and, more strangely, (when it is considered how

* Clarendon,--Life.

† Ibid.

little he was fitted for it by any qualities of probity or discretion), into the closest confidence by the King. He was a man of a brilliant eloquence, an active spirit, and eminent address as a courtier. He had received, says Carte, 'a most elaborate education from his father, and had improved his natural parts by travel.' He was an ingenious and accurate proficient in the exact sciences, and had, in his early youth, distinguished himself not a little in theological controversy. But his restless and overweening vanity made him careless of all the essentials of a good fame, and as unsafe a counsellor to his master as he was an improvident guardian of his own reputation. His speech on the bill against Strafford had gained him, and not unreasonably, great applause. But the eagerness with which, as if unable to hold any even way of conduct or opinions, he rushed into the direct opposite of his former character and course, discrediting his former opinions, and denouncing his former connexions, leaves him on record, if not as one of the most perfidious, as one of the most absurd men of showy abilities whom that or any other age has produced.

The adventurous character of the career upon which the events of each successive day were now hurrying the country party, the perils which menaced the foremost, and the temptations with which all were from time to time assailed, had introduced a very temporising spirit into many. It is generally the case during the period when the elements of any great change are beginning to work, that the popular counsels are encumbered by the presence of some suspected persons, and often damaged by the treachery of others. It was so now in an eminent degree. Several profiting by the experience of Strafford's life, but neglecting the moral of his death, had deserted from the popular side ; others were wavering ; and many more appeared plainly to have attached themselves to it for the mere purpose of exhibiting themselves to the King for purchase. The impolicy of at once forcing such persons, in such times, from a hollow neutrality into active enmity, did not occur to the country party as soon as it ought. The trimmers were discarded and insulted in council and debate. They were treated with a contumely which took away from such base minds all desire to

further dissemble their baseness. It has been well observed, that men's real qualities are very apt to rise or fall to the level of their reputation. So was it now with the trimmers. And it may well be doubted whether Hampden's phrase was in this respect well timed, or chosen with his usual prudence, when he said that the trouble which had lately befallen the party 'had been attended 'with this benefit, that they knew who were 'their friends.' *

The largest number of all, though honest in their intentions for liberty, endeavoured to keep the means of retreat still open. In such a state of things, men of the rank, virtue, and courage of Fiennes and the younger Vane were eminently valuable to the leaders. Yet the courage of Fiennes was given to him in an unequal measure; and his is one of the instances, not unfrequently met with, which show that courage is a faculty which may materially depend upon the different positions of responsibility in which the man is placed. There is no reason for imputing personal

* Clarendon.—Life.

timidity to Nathaniel Fiennes. On the contrary, his valour was often and eminently displayed; nor was there ever, in the most hazardous moments, a bolder politician. Yet there never was a man whose timidity under a great military charge, such as that in which it was his misfortune to find himself when he commanded at the defence of Bristol, gave stronger proof of his consciousness that for such duties he was entirely unfit.

Vane's principles were of a more unmixed sort; and he had, in his early life, many great difficulties and allurements to struggle with. The son of a trading courtier, who had been the ready minister of two arbitrary Sovereigns, the younger Sir Harry Vane maintained and avowed, through every change of affairs, the most uncompromising attachment to the republican doctrines. This was expressed by him, to his father's great displeasure, upon his return from Geneva; from which place, as from its seminary, the spirit of popular liberty has so often gone forth to other nations, and in which it has so often found again an asylum when driven back and discomfited. He sought to cultivate these

principles, in their utmost speculative purity, in New England, where he was instantly raised, by acclamation, to the government of Massachussetts. In this office he openly countenanced antinomian opinions, too absolutely exempt from all human controul both in church and state for even the settlers there. And so terminated his short career as a president and lawgiver; which, when considered as the aspiring effort of a man of twenty-three years old, at the head of an infant society, in a new world, cannot but be thought to be too severely dealt with by both Neal and Baxter. Appointed, soon after his return, at his father's instance, to the treasurership of the Navy, he, nevertheless, took deep disgust at the measures of the court, and, throwing up his office, attached himself to the cause and fortunes of the country party;—a course sufficiently explained by the earliest and uniform dispositions of his mind; but which has been lightly and injuriously impugned by some who have imputed it, without any probability of truth, to resentment on account of the mortified ambition and disappointed intrigues of his father. Unlike Hampden, whose profes-

sions and views may be shewn to have been uniformly bounded to the establishment of a freedom guarded by limited monarchy, Vane's darling scheme throughout was a Platonick republick ; from the avowal of which he never swerved, even from the hour of his first appearance in the Long Parliament, to that at which he bravely met the fate to which he was unjustly doomed, for an act not only in which he had taken no part, but from which he had signally abstained. In religion and politicks equally an enthusiast, he was as stern and incorruptible in opposition to the sovereignty of Cromwell as he had been to that of Charles. His genius was shrewd and ardent, his judgement penetrating, his eloquence glowing, and chastened by a better taste than was common among the orators of that time*.

* In the matter so often alleged against Vane, respecting the discovery of the minutes of council on Strafford's case, as well as the scene of his publick reconciliation with his father by order of the House of Commons, whatever may have been the conduct of others, Vane's appears, on the strictest investigation, to have been high-minded and honourable. It seems more than probable that the father was moved, by the jealousies which had subsisted between him and Strafford, to direct his son to the box where the minutes lay, which, when discovered, it

Strode was scarcely of sufficient importance, or Hazelrigge or Deering of sufficient discretion, to hold a place in the secret councils of the leading men. Dauntless and persevering in his course, whether selected by his party to post, in disguise, from Fawsley to the Scottish border, or, in his place in Parliament, to move the bringing in of the Triennial Act, Hazelrigge was ever ready and faithful to sustain his allotted share of an action in the previous arranging of which he neither took nor desired to take a part. It was sufficient for him that it had the consent of Hampden, whose directing genius he held in the deepest veneration, and that it should be manifestly in furtherance of that great cause to which he was so entirely devoted. Deering, also a subordinate actor, had neither the courage nor fidelity of Hazelrigge ;—his name and station in an important county appear to

became the son's duty to bring before the committee ; and that the son, duped by the father, and too high-minded to defend himself at the father's expense, bore the weight of his well-acted indignation, and suffered it to be still believed that the minute was found accidentally. This is the appearance clearly given to this transaction in Sir Ralph Verney's journal ;—the box in which these minutes were, (of which his father had sent him the key, with authority to use it,) was placed in his hand by his father's secretary.

have been, from the beginning, his only recommendation in the eyes of those under whose direction he moved. Turbulent and selfish, and ever ambitious to concur in the strongest measures, when they seemed likely to advance him along the road of his personal interest, he had none of that careless purity of purpose which, aiming at generous ends, pursues the most direct and rigorous means ; nor had he that discretion in the choice of his objects, or uniformity in his pursuit of them, which sometimes gives to even a bad or foolish consistency a false semblance of public virtue. Devoted to the most sordid aims of private advantage, he never rose higher than to be an instrument, working and controuled by the direction of others ; and, at length, baffled in his speculations of unjust profit to be derived from Parliamentary confiscations, he found himself sunk at once in fortune and in reputation.

One person, and one only, was there in this confederacy whose powers seem to have long remained unknown and unmeasured by all but by the searching sagacity of his kinsman Hampden ; and this was Oliver Cromwell, bur-

gess for Cambridge; who, with an ill-favoured countenance, a sharp untunable voice, an ungraceful address, a ‘plain cloth suit which seemed to have been made by an ill country taylor, and little band, none of the cleanest*,’ had never yet risen to notice in debate, but by some occasional disjointed proposition, coarse in itself, and not recommended by the mode of the delivery. Yet this was he of whom, when Lord Digby asked, ‘Pray, Mr. Hampden, who is that man? for I see he is on our side by his speaking so warmly to-day:’ Hampden answered, ‘That sloven whom you see before you hath no ornament in his speech; but that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the King, (which God forbid!) in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England†!’

The prophecy was more than accomplished. He lived not only to be the first man in England, but to fill the most extraordinary station to which any man in England was ever raised by the most extraordinary fortune and abili-

* Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

† Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs.

ties. Dishonoured by one great over-mastering vice, he had not one weakness. And, perhaps, it is but truth to say of Cromwell, that the deep inscrutable dissimulation which, in the later days of his career, he summoned to his aid against both foreign and domestick machination, to baffle the assaults at once of the despotick powers of Europe and the democrattick spirits of England, was a vice rather called forth by the difficulties of his position than forming an original or natural part among his wondrous qualities. Flattered and magnified by the praises of those who were the creatures of his greatness, he has also been the subject of more vulgar and savage malignity than, perhaps, ever assailed the memory of any other human creature. He was pursued by the hatred of those who opposed his usurpation or were the open enemies of his tyranny; and it has been likewise the trade of many who had crouched before his footstool, with corresponding baseness, to insult over his grave. The courtiers and statesmen of Europe, for one generation at least, were all leagued in this work. For the statesmen of foreign nations were those whom

he had discomfited, and upon whose disgrace, or with whose enforced assistance, he had raised the glory of England to no second rank of fame among empires. The statesmen of England forgot, after the Restoration, the greatness he had achieved for their country, or remembered it too well ever to forgive the contrast in which it stood to her degradation under the sway of their restored master. The courtiers of all nations hated the memory of one who had shewed that a nation could be governed gloriously without a court. Those of France were eager to revile the memory of him to whom their greatest minister had yielded the palm of his continental policy ; whom their vain and arrogant prince had been forced to address as his ‘ brother ;’ who, with 6000 Englishmen, had eclipsed the glories of their nation at Dunkirk ; and who had brought the ablest of their negociators to confess an attempted and baffled fraud. He had shamed Kings,—himself at the head of a people whom he governed only through a sense that he was the fittest man in the country to govern them ; and, at that hour, when it may be believed that, with all men, dissimulation is

at an end, he breathed his last words forth in a prayer of simple but affecting resignation, commending his own soul to mercy, but, with it, the never-neglected fortunes of a country whose gratitude had not kept pace with his immortal services.

Cromwell, at the beginning, probably sincere, was doubtless a dissembler from the hour at which he aspired to rule ; but he had to deal with many bad men ; and dissimulation was the weapon which they used. Cromwell took it up, and vanquished them. Cromwell was a tyrant ; but, of his personal ambition, this is truly to be said, that it was never seen but identified with the greatness of his country.

Nor has the unfairness of party zeal been much less actively employed to defame as well as to extol the reputation of Pym, who may be called the colleague of Hampden in the government of the country party. For eight and twenty successive years after the Restoration, powerful pens were incessantly employed to desecrate the ashes of the great men of the generation which had just gone by ; and as their descriptions have not un-

naturally been taken as models upon which most of the later historians have formed their own, the character of Pym is not likely to have received favourable measure. With a courage that never quailed, a vigilance that never slept, a severity, sharp as the sun-beam to penetrate, and rapid as the thunder-bolt to consume, Pym was the undaunted, indefatigable, implacable, foe, of every measure and of every man that threatened to assail the power of the Parliament, or to destroy the great work which was in hand for the people and posterity.

When the citadel of publick liberty was menaced, Pym defended it as one who thought in such a battle all arms lawful. That his parts were, according to Mr. Hume's phrase, 'more fitted for use than ornament,' is little to say of those abilities which, after the Earl of Bedford's death, and when Pym was unsupported by any other influence, raised him to the rank in the estimation of his opponents of being one of the 'Parliament Drivers,'* and gave to him in their

* Wood's *Athenæ*.—*Persecutio Undecima*.



Engraved by E. Pinder.



Ed. Pym

From an original Miniature by Cooper
In the Possession of Robert Greenhill, Esq. of Chancery Court.

phraseology the nickname of 'King Pym.' His great experience in the practice of Parliament, on which his authority was hardly inferior to that of Selden himself, gave to Pym the greatest advantages of preparedness in debate. His efforts were mainly directed to maintain the privileges and power of the Commons. His ruling maxim was that which he expressed on Strafford's impeachment—'Parliaments, without parliamentary power, are but a fair and plausible way into bondage.' Nor was he less well versed in the business of the Treasury than of the House. A man so forward and powerful, and by the court so hated, and so feared, was sure to be assailed with calumnies the most virulent and the most improbable. Accordingly the almost repulsive austerity of Pym's habits and demeanour could not protect him against the foolish imputation of having won over the beautiful Countess of Carlisle, by a softer influence than that of political agreement, to the interests of the country party; and a modern author, to whom it has been necessary to advert more than once in these memorials, after a fanciful picture of Pym's system of secret

intelligence, ends with discovering a close resemblance between his stern unbending course and the occupation and office of a 'French Lieutenant of Police.' Nor are such extravagances very surprizing or unpardonable in writers of small account, when we see the grave and lofty Clarendon himself recording the disproved statement, so industriously circulated by some of the Royalists, that the death of Pym was caused by a loathsome disease, and then condescending to countenance a superstitious belief that it was the wrath of heaven manifesting itself against the publick acts of the old man's life ; thus leaving us to conclude between the probabilities of a miracle and a calumny. In either case, how injudicious in the adherents of the unhappy family of the Stuarts to insist upon accounting the worldly misfortunes of men as visible judgments upon their political offences ! On the other hand, Baxter gives to Pym, with Hampden and with Vane, an assured place among the highest mansions of the blessed*. And if there ever was a man who would have

* Baxter's 'Saint's Rest.'

been less likely than another to assign such praise to one whom, in his heart, he thought justly chargeable with blame, that man was the pious and honest Baxter.

Hampden's powers, which were now vigorously exerting themselves in parliamentary debate, were of a different sort from those of the other popular leaders. He was not a frequent speaker; nor, when the course of a discussion called upon him to take his part in it, did he sacrifice any thing to a vain display of words and figures, which was so general a vice in the rhetorick of those days; nor did he indulge himself in those violences of invective or exaggerations of illustration of which so many instances are found in the published speeches of the rest. His practice was usually to reserve himself untill near the close of a debate; and then, having watched it's progress, to endeavour to moderate the redundancies of his friends, to weaken the impression produced by his opponents, to confirm the timid, and to reconcile the reluctant. And this he did, according to the testimony of his opponents themselves, with a modesty, gentleness and apparent diffidence

in his own judgement which usually brought men round to his conclusions. It is natural that Clarendon, in his unmitigated hatred of Hampden, and of the cause in which he successfully directed the spirits and minds of others, should give to that triumphant genius, tempered by modesty and guided by discretion, the name of craft; and that, labouring to represent him as a bad man whom all outward evidence had raised high in publick affection and esteem, he should pronounce that, from the time when Hampden and Hyde were opposed to each other, ‘there never was a man less what he seemed to be than Mr. Hampden.’

About this time a difference arose in the party, with respect to the course of publick affairs, between those who were called the religious, and the political, Puritans. Of those who were called the religious Puritans, the less considerable of the two classes both as to number and influence, Pym was accounted the leader. Of this schism in the junto the King tried to avail himself; but in vain. For, no sooner did any question of state grievance, apart from that on which they were divided,

appear, but they were again found closely and eagerly united. Yet the bill for abolishing episcopacy was a prominent and practical question, concerning which, not only the party was at issue within itself, but Pym and Hampden, the 'Parliament drivers,' were opposed to each other. To the first proposal touching 'root and branch,' the rashness of Archbishop Williams had much contributed. The grounds on which the protest of the bishops, against the bill restraining the clergy from civil office, was placed, were doubtless a high breach of the privileges of the Lords, and a denial of the power of an act of Parliament. For, not content with defending the parliamentary and other franchises of their own order, they went in effect the monstrous length of resisting the legality of all votes of the Lords at the passing of which they and their brethren should not assist. Into this ill advised course they were betrayed by the hasty temper of the Archbishop, kindling at the violence of a mob which had impeded his passage through Palace Yard. It led at once to the impeachment of those who subscribed their names to it, as having questioned the

power of Acts of Parliament; an offence which, if it did not amount to fit matter of commitment for treason, was evidence at least of a madness, sufficient (as Lord Clarendon says was remarked at the time) to justify their being placed in a confinement of another and scarcely a milder sort.

But among these struggles, the foundations of the constitution were broken up, and its elements in conflict. The efforts of the court to regain the lost ground of arbitrary prerogative, and those of the Parliament to strengthen its own defences, became more frequent and less disguised. In nothing does the deep feeling which the Parliament had of its own strength appear more remarkably than in its conduct towards the Scots, when we remember that it was to renew his enterprise against them that Charles had called the Parliament together. With as little good discretion as good faith, and choosing rather to put his trust in the force of national jealousies than in the popularity of his own government, he had, in his speech at the opening of the session, gone the length of calling the Scottish army rebels; and this too

during a treaty. The Parliament seemed for a while to disregard this phrase. But in exactly three months after, the disposition of Parliament was plainly shewn by voting under the name of a 'brotherly assistance,' upon a petition from the Scots, a grant of three hundred thousand pounds, 'as a fit proportion towards the supply of the losses and necessities of our brethren of Scotland *.'

In such a conflict it was clear that the system of government itself must dissolve, or that, of its two great powers thus put in action against each other, one must effectually and signally prevail, and thus the balance be destroyed.

The Triennial bill alone, as we have seen, was but a poor defence against any King who might be disposed to look to his army as a resource against his Parliament, and who had still the prerogative of dissolution in his hands, so often before abused in practice, and lately again appealed to as a menace. Another Act had therefore been passed, which in truth rendered the two Houses entirely

independent of the Crown ;—and two Houses entirely independent of the Crown must soon become the sovereign authority of the state. This was the famous act by which the Parliament declared itself indissoluble but with its own consent. What rendered this necessary was the state of the treaty with the Scots ; which, if hastily concluded, would have placed at Charles's disposal a great army, the leaders of which he was at the least countenancing in plots against the Parliament*. But that it was establishing a power, which could be justified only upon its necessity, no man can deny.

It was not in ignorance that Charles had thus hung the fate of his prerogative on the verge of the slippery precipice on which he now stood. But he had disguised the danger to himself, still looking forward to those false hopes with which the ambitious boldness of Strafford and the wanton violence of Laud had so long deceived him. His astonishment at the threatened inroad on his darling prerogative, (and he now saw his difficulties in

* Guthrie.

their full extent,) deprived him of the power of meeting it with prudence or with firmness. It was besides a part of his character, as it is with many obstinate persons, when driven to retract or qualify his course, to rush for a while into the opposite extreme, as if it were to shame and spite the fortune which had checked him.

In addition to these infirmities of temper and purpose, a sanguine, but not very distinct, calculation of relief from his army influenced him even in these concessions. They thus became part of a temporary policy by which he expected to amuse his Parliament untill the Scots army might be disbanded, and his own left free for him to deal with*.

* The Père d'Orleans treats the question of Charles's motives doubtfully. He prepares himself however for either case; and frames this singular justification for Charles, even though it should appear that he played a false part in these transactions, or gave a false account of them when he afterwards became, as the court party endeavoured to make out that he was in the Eikon, the historian of his own conduct. 'Tout le monde' says the Jesuit, 'en fut si surpris qu'on y crut de la politique. On s'imagina que ce prince n'accordoit tant que pour révoquer tout; que par des négociations secrètes il se préparoit à la guerre, et à rompre avec l'épée les liens qu'il se faisoit avec la plume. Il s'en justifié dans son livre comme d'un procédé contraire à la bonne foi dont il se piquoit. Il fit ce livre dans un temps où il avoit intérêt de

Rapin believes that the King's compliances were furthermore occasioned by a belief that the Parliament might be tempted by them into demands so plainly unreasonable as to materially strengthen his case in the publick opinion; and M. de Guizot inclines to the same notion. But this is surely searching too deep for the solution of a conduct sufficiently to be accounted for in a more obvious way. It is seldom the custom with arbitrary princes to make any surrender of substantial power for the less important object of enlisting an additional argument on their side. On the contrary, instead of being led out of their way to strengthen their case in publick opinion, their mistake has usually been, when meditating an assault upon liberty, rather to undervalue publick opinion, and therefore

'parler ainsi, quand la chose eût été autrement. Il étoit entre les mains de ses ennemis, captif, et à leur discrétion, ne désespérant pas néanmoins de s'accommoder encore avec eux. Rien ne lui importait davantage que d'éloigner tous les soupçons d'une conduite dissimulée. L'on voit même que cette Ecrit a été fait pour être lu par d'autres que par des confidens. Ainsi ce livre ne convainc pas que Charles fut aussi peu politique qu'il affecte de le paroître enfin de passer pour sincère.' No part of this passage is in irony. Alas for an unhappy prince whose memory has such apologists!

too much to neglect all appeals to it. Nor should we be justified in lightly supposing Charles guilty of so foul a crime as, among other compliances, to surrender his servant to death, in order to decoy his opponents into demands which might afterwards give him the means of destroying them also.

Whatever may have been the motives of Charles, this at least is certain; the plan of his opponents was more prudent and more prosperous. Both King and Parliament were now paying court to the Scots. Whatever the Scots might have thought of the King, they were wise enough to see that it was the interest at all events of the Parliament to be sincere with them. On the side of the Parliament then lay their safety. The Parliament, on their part, were more and more convinced that the motives of the King's compliances were not sincere. They therefore fortified themselves against his insincerity, in the meanwhile, by availing themselves of these compliances and extorting others; untill the King, when his blow was to have been struck, found the weapon in his hands rendered powerless by his own act, and new means of incalculable strength placed in those of the

bold and wary adversaries with whom he had been dealing. He had not been prepared for the consequences of the first assault. It had not only deprived him of the counsels of his two chief advisers, Strafford and Laud, but it had made wreck of their whole system, and had involved in the same ruin almost all the inferiour agents, striking speechless, motionless, and hopeless, the few and insignificant that remained. The greater number were permitted to escape from personal arrest. Ratcliffe was released, but retired beyond sea, and the Lord Keeper Finch, and Secretary Sir Francis Windebanke, fled.

Against Windebanke divers petitions had been presented, complaining of illegal warrants issued by him, particularly for the discharge of prosecutions against Roman Catholick Seminary Priests*. It was also known,

* The course taken in these cases, particularly in that of Goodman the Jesuit, has been rather uncandidly represented as a persecution of them merely as clergymen professing the Roman Catholick religion. This was not so. They were proceeded against as Priests engaged in the education of youth. The law was a cruel and unjust one. But the power assumed by the Crown to dispense with it was illegal. The struggle was with the Crown, not with the Seminary Priests. And it must be observed that, the point having been gained with the Crown, and execution being in the hands of the Parliament, it was not carried into effect.

that the Secretary had been for a while covertly, and afterwards openly, in communion with their Church. Finch was brought to the bar of the Commons, and there arraigned of his practices against privilege and law, in articles setting forth his refusal, while speaker, to put certain resolutions of the House to the vote, and his advice to the Crown, and his charges on the Circuit, while Chief Justice, in the matter of the Ship money. He was admitted to speak in reply. On his knees he pleaded to the jurisdiction of the House, and, in a speech of eloquent but piteous apology, professed his devotion to the privileges of Parliament, and his sorrow if in any sort he had offended against them. The triumph of the popular party thus far was complete. Finch was impeached by an unanimous vote. It was moved by Lord Falkland, with an asperity, says Lord Clarendon, ‘contrary to ‘the usual gentleness of his nature,’ calling him ‘a silent speaker, an unjust judge, and ‘an unconscionable keeper; bringing all law ‘from His Majesty’s courts into His Majesty’s breast, and giving our goods to the ‘King, and our liberties to the sheriffs; so

‘ that there was no way by which we had not
‘ been oppressed and destroyed, if the power
‘ of this person had been equal to his will,
‘ or the will of the King equal to his power*.’

Windebanke did not even face his accusers with any answer to their charge. Holland was chosen by him as a place of refuge, and France by Finch. The letters which, from their exile, they both addressed to the Parliament, were in accordance with their deportment under accusation ; Finch excusing himself, as he had done in his speech, by humble expressions of submission, and Windebanke by laying the whole blame on the King.

M. Guizot concludes that their escape was countenanced by the ‘ Junto ;’—and with good reason. To pardon them, and to proceed to the utmost extent of penalty against Strafford, would have been impracticable ; yet, on the other hand, much more was to be gained for the popular cause by the abject submission and pusillanimous flight of it’s enemies than by the shedding of their blood. The event justified the policy ; nor can there be a doubt

* Falkland’s Speech on the articles brought up by him to the Lords.—Jan. 14th.

that the court was as much discredited in the eyes of all men, by the self-degradation of the keeper and secretary, as was the popular cause by the courageous bearing of Strafford, and, afterwards, of Laud. It would have been better for the Parliament if the lieutenant and the archbishop had also been of a temper to barter reputation for life.

Chief Justice Bramston, Chief Baron Davenport, and Judge Crawley, were held to bail for their appearance to answer to charges, principally on ship-money; and Judge Berkeley was apprehended upon Speaker Lenthall's warrant while sitting in his own court of King's Bench*; such was the pervading and irresistible power of the House. Smart, prebendary of Durham, and Alexander Jennings, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, the latter of whom had been imprisoned for resisting payment of ship-money, and whose bail had been refused, had now reparation made to them of all costs and damages; and the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Edward Littleton, was entrusted with the great seal. . This was

* Whitelocke.—Parliamentary History.

probably not an improper, and certainly not an unpopular, appointment. With the single exception of Selden, with whom he had lived and studied long, Littleton was, perhaps, the greatest lawyer in England. Without the energy or firmness of St. John, and, perhaps, with less of natural ability, he was a man of more moderation, and better qualified by rank in his profession, as well as by his political character, to be a mediating minister, in such times, between King and people. His early bias, like that of most lawyers, had been to the side of liberty ; but his tone in defence of it had been qualified and subdued by the nearer prospect of professional advancement. Littleton had, during two eventful sessions, sided vehemently with the country party in Parliament. He had, with Sir John Eliot, undertaken to manage the charge against the Duke of Buckingham of poisoning the late King, and was appointed, with Coke and Sir Dudley Digges, to carry the Petition of Right to the Lords. But he was saved, by preference, from continuing to render himself conspicuous in a course which brought upon several of those with whom he had been

associated such frequent and severe persecutions. On his father's death he was rapidly advanced, through a Welch judgeship, to the office of Solicitor-general, and, in 1639, to the chief justiceship of the Common Pleas.

Though Littleton cannot with truth be accused of having changed his politicks, they were of an undefined and temporizing sort. It required a lofty sense of publick duty, in those days, to save a lawyer from corruption; and Littleton never was corrupt. He never was prevailed upon, for the sake of acquiring office or retaining it, to devote himself to the purposes of the court; and, when Chief Justice, he was selected by both Houses to lay before the King their Address of Thanks for the passing of the Triennial Bill. Nor, even after he had placed himself by the King's side at Oxford with the great seal, did he ever entirely abandon the cause for which the Parliament were contending, or ever acquire the entire favour of his master.

In pursuing the story of the proceedings against Strafford, it was necessary to pass over several transactions of great importance, concurrent with it in respect of time.

Among these was the negotiation, slightly alluded to before, for admitting the principal leaders of the country party into prominent and responsible office. The design, as is well known, was broken off by the death of the Earl of Bedford, who seems to have indulged the notion that Strafford might have been saved by the compromise;—a weak and groundless expectation;—to provide for Strafford's safety by raising to power men who knew that their own safety as well as that of the cause for which they had risked everything, depended upon bringing him to publick execution. Pym was to have been Chancellor of the Exchequer in the room of Cottington; Hollis Secretary of State; and Lord Essex Governor, and John Hampden tutor, to the Prince of Wales. It is an unprofitable and endless occupation to speculate upon what might have been the event of an arrangement which never took place, and which, if it had taken place, must have given a totally different course to publick affairs. The enquiry with which some writers have amused themselves, as to how far the vices of a character so mean and so depraved as that of Charles the Second were vices of

nature, or how far of education, is of small consequence either to the historian or philosopher. None of the facts or lessons of history are affected by such an enquiry. We have already seen, faintly shadowed out by Hampden himself, in his letters to Eliot, his own views of the fit education of a young man. This, then, may be safely predicated, nor is it worth while to go further; that by the failure of an arrangement by which Hampden would have been appointed to form the habits of the future Sovereign of his country, one of the worst of pupils was taken from one of the greatest of masters. The difficulty must be spared to posterity of determining whether or not Charles the Second could have come forth, such as he afterwards was, from the hands of John Hampden.

The object of such of the country party as had any views or interest in these projects, was to effect a great change in the administration, not only about the person and court of the King, but principally in the revenue. The King perceived this design, and thwarted it, even before Bedford's death; and this was seen in the result,—in the arrangements that

failed, and in those that were effected. The Treasurership was only transferred to one of the court party, the Earl of Middleton* ;—the Chancery of the Exchequer remained ; the Privy Council was encreased ; the Court of Wards and the Solicitor Generalship were made peace-offerings to the people. The King had no violent repugnance to admitting persons from the popular side to his presence ; but he kept the responsible offices of the revenue in hands which he could controul.

Thus a negotiation, supposed by the Tory writers to have been begun for the purpose of saving Lord Strafford, and, according to the insinuations of some, to have nearly triumphed over the virtue of the country party, ended, not in conciliating that party—not in delaying them from their object, but in giving them the additional power of pursuing it with the agency of a crown lawyer. All levies of ship-money were declared for the future to be

* Juxon desired leave to resign the treasurership. With the utmost fidelity to his master throughout, even to that master's last moments, Juxon never intermeddled in politicks or faction ; and, says Sir Philip Warwick, during all the troubles was never questioned or molested.

illegal ; the Star Chamber was utterly abolished ; its judgements were struck off the file ; and, above all, the levying of the revenue of Customs placed by law for evermore under the controul of Parliament. Nor did the Commons stop here. But the event which, falling out at this time, went the furthest to colour, if not to justify, the assumption of the whole power of the state by Parliament, was the conduct and discovery of the Army Plot. How far Charles was a party in the main design of then marching a portion of the northern army upon London to dissolve the Parliament, is doubtful. That at one time he deterred the conspirators from the attempt to put it into execution is certain ; but it is equally so that he countersigned, with his own initials, the ‘ Army Officers’ Petition.’ That he corresponded with the principal conspirators, and continued his countenance to them during a great part of the action of the plot, appears under his own hand ; and Newcastle’s papers sufficiently shew that it had been part of his original project, a very short time before, to bring up the army, and that he now maintained a secret communication with it through the dangerous

agency of these wild and desperate intriguers. The royalist writers, indeed, generally do not deny this, but content themselves with justifying it; and of the Queen's active participation in the whole plot there is no doubt*. The evidence of it, which appeared before Parliament, unquestionably assisted the objects of the country party, and continued to keep the publick mind in a state of alarm which, though, perhaps, oftenest found serviceable to the purposes of a government, is sometimes of no small use to a party in opposition to a government. But the imputation of fable and of artifice with which Lord Clarendon endeavours to dissemble the realities of the whole transaction, (confounding it with others less genuine, and entirely passing by all that was important in the confessions of Percy and Goring,) is most disingenuous; the more so in him, since he had, a short time before, himself been eagerly employed in pursuing the evidence of another design to be executed by the soldiery, and had, in consequence, taken up the message of the Lords concerning the expected attempt to

* Madame de Motteville.

rescue Lord Strafford from the Tower* ; both of which facts he keeps out of sight.

There was abundant evidence of a spirit in the army, in the courtiers, and in the King, jointly, which rendered some very extraordinary and lasting measures necessary for providing for the safety of the House. Accordingly great pains have been taken by the court party, in their writings, to draw attention away from those outrages of which there was undeniable evidence, in order to expose the over-coloured statements of fanciful and groundless panick, of which, in such times, and in such a conflict of passions, there was not a little felt, and, perhaps, not a little feigned. That many false alarms were excited and many false plots bruited about, is unquestionably true. True, also, that the mind of the Parliament was so harassed by the informations it received, that, on one occasion, the breaking down of a bench in the gallery under two corpulent gentlemen, Mr. Moyle and Mr. Chamberlayne, threw the House, for a moment, into such a sudden amazement, that a cry arose of a second gunpowder plot†. In

* Commons' Journals, April 28.

† Carte.

truth, the fair way of looking at the question of the reality of the dangers, at different times and from different quarters, apprehended, is to rest the cases mainly on the testimony of those who could not have been parties with the Parliament in any exaggeration of them, and which shew, beyond question, the existence of a rash but deep-laid scheme to destroy the Parliament by military force. The Marchioness of Newcastle cannot be suspected of becoming intentionally a favourable witness ; yet, in the ‘ Life of her Husband,’ written by her, we have the comment on the evidence which his own correspondence affords of the King’s settled intention being already formed of ‘ securing his interests in the north ’ against his Parliament, by which he was ‘ unjustly and unmannerly treated.’

The information, it appears, had long been in the possession of Pym. The principal agents in it were known ; but, because they were known, (and a knowledge of the chieftains accounted for the unscrupulous character of the enterprize,) it was difficult to make men believe in the real importance of it. Charles’s Presence Chamber and Council

Board had been for some time beset with soldiers of fortune and mere men of pleasure, who, from the Queen's favour, soon found their way, if not into the entire confidence of the King, at least into his good graces which they believed to be his entire confidence. And they acted accordingly. The conspiracy was guided by two amatory poets, two mere profligates, and two young men of family who were only known to the country, the one as being a Roman Catholick whose uncle had been engaged in the Gunpowder Treason, the other as having received his education amid the morals and politicks of the French court. Suckling and Davenant, Jermyn* and Goring, Percy and Wilmot, with the rash Jack Ashburnham and a few subordinate agents, were the actors in a plot which was to move a great army upon Lon-

* The 'particular and afterwards suspicious affection,' as Guthrie terms it, which the Queen bore towards Jermyn, was, (if we may believe the Earl of Dartmouth, on the testimony of his father,) made the means, under the adroit management of the Countess of Carlisle, for putting a very important secret of Henrietta's private history into the power of the Marquis of Hamilton, and raising that nobleman, whom she before had detested, high in her favour.—See Lord Dartmouth's Notes on Burnet, Hist. Own Times, Edit. Oxon, 1823,

don, capture the Parliament, secure the sea-ports, negotiate foreign succours, and turn back from the footstool of the Throne that flowing tide of popular power before which Strafford, at the head of the councils of England and of the government of Ireland, had stood in vain and had been overwhelmed.

For the Parliamentary leaders to allow the King to see that they were aware of the desperate nature of the scheme, before they might be able to bring it to publick proof, would have been perilous in the highest degree. Still no time was to be lost in deranging it's machinery, and at all events in providing for the Scots being kept together and on good terms with the Parliament. A middle course therefore was adopted.

As early as the 7th of January a committee had been established, 'Concerning the Publick Safety,' of which Hampden was a member and manager. And now it was that the vote of a 'brotherly assistance' of 300,000*l.* to the Scots was passed*; the King was addressed

* Clarendon, in his account of these transactions, complains much of this vote, saying that 'foreigners were paid, and the English not.' What can be thought of the honesty or the value

in general terms on the subject of plots and dangers ; on the Irish army ; on the publick discontents, and against the introduction of foreign troops ; and, at length, on the 9th of May, by a bold proposition, an unanimous Declaration was obtained, signed and sworn to by all the members of the Commons, and by all the Lords but two, for the defence of religion, privilege, and liberty. At one blow the Army Plot was ruined. The King saw that it was known to the Junto ; that they were preparing to make it known, to the country ; that the Scottish army, which he hoped would disband for want of money, was supplied with means to keep itself entire ; and that his own army, which he hoped to have at his disposal, was still to be occupied for a

of Clarendon's animadversions, when it is seen that in this case, as in that of the conference with the Lords concerning the plot to rescue Strafford from the Tower, Clarendon has kept back in his History the whole fact of his having himself borne a very considerable part in it ?

It was Hyde himself who brought up the report of the Committee recommending the ' brotherly assistance,' and managed the conference upon it.—Comm. Journ. 20 Martii, post merid. He was afterwards on the Committee with Hampden and others to negotiate with the City the loan of £120,000, in part of this ' assistance.'—Comm. Journ. 25 Martii, post merid.

renewed period in watching it. The conspirators took the alarm. Jermyn fled to France, and Percy to concealment in the house of his brother the Duke of Northumberland; Wilmot and Pollard were committed to the Gate-house, together with Ashburnham, who never undertook any design that he did not help to ruin by his indiscretion; and the infamous Goring, who never joined in any cause that he did not help to ruin by his treachery, saved himself by giving early intimation to Pym of his willingness to divulge all*. Lord Kimbolton and two others were accordingly sent to Portsmouth, where Goring commanded, to take his information; and Hampden and Hollis to Alnwick, to examine the Duke of Northumberland touching his brother's correspondence; directions were despatched by the Speaker's warrant to secure the other ports in Hants, Dorsetshire, Guernsey, and Jersey, and to put the train bands in readiness; Sir

* 'Goring,' says Sir Philip Warwick, 'is said to have betrayed them all, as he did; but he swore to me, (which was no great assurance,) that he never revealed it till he certainly knew that the chief members of both Houses were before acquainted with it.'

John Hotham and Sir Hugh Cholmley were sent to the north, Sir Walter Earle to the west, and the King was addressed to appoint the Earl of Essex Lieutenant of York, 'in this time of danger*.' A letter was moreover directed by the Speaker to Sir John Coniers and Sir Jacob Asteley, commanding the army in the north, prepared by Hampden as Chairman of the Committee of Seven. It set forth the general 'causes of jealousy that 'there have been some secret attempts and 'practices' with the army; that the House intends to enquire into the conspiracy, 'for 'the purpose of proceeding especially against 'the principal actors therein,' promising freedom from all punishment to such as had been worked upon by such conspirators, 'if 'they shall testify their fidelity to the State 'by a timely discovery of 'what they know, 'and can certify therein;' engaging to 'satisfy 'all such arrears as this House hath formerly 'promised to discharge,' and directing the generals to communicate these things to all under their command†.

To whatever extent the connexion of Charles

* Sir Ralph Verney's Notes,

† Comm. Journ. 8 May,

with the rash scheme of the Army Plot had gone, it affords a clue to all the concessions that he was now making to his Parliament. Without his army all attempts to recover his lost ground were hopeless, except by casting himself frankly upon his Parliament and people, which was the only course he never could bring himself to adopt, and which in truth would now have been received by them with a degree of suspicion too well justified by all his former conduct. Without money he could not maintain his army, and, without the Royal assent being previously given to the concessions which the Parliament demanded, the Parliament would not give the money. A poll tax meanwhile was in progress for the payment of both armies, of five per cent. on all expended income, and an additional tax on all patents and titles.

But the tone and attitude of the Commons had undergone a material change. The forms of petition were studiously and punctiliously observed, but in such a manner as to shew the King that the House was aware of the violence he meditated against its privileges and its existence. It recognised the power

of the sword as in him ; but pointed distantly at the limitations under which that power was to be exercised, and even at the circumstances under which the publick safety might demand that the controul of Parliament should extend over his use of that power. He was told that, in a free state, it is given to the Sovereign for the defence of the people and of that form of government of which the House of Commons is a part. He was told that his officers were in a conspiracy against the State, and he was told moreover to whom the chief command in one of the largest provinces of his kingdom ought, for the publick safety, to be entrusted. These doubtless were extraordinary powers assumed by the Parliament ; and it is equally true that by degrees these demands were rising to an amount quite irreconcilable with any just notion of a form of government in which the monarchical principle was to have it's due influence upon the balance. It had not, as yet, made any claim of power over the army. But it was laying ground for this claim, in case that future circumstances should render the exercise of it necessary. And this is not

the English Constitution. Still there is the constantly recurring question : by what other means was any balanced form of government to be protected against Charles the First ? How could the power and authority of Parliament have been otherwise preserved, to be again reduced within its proper dimensions under the sway of some succeeding Prince ? Short of having these powers in its hands, could the House of Commons have reasonably hoped to survive one week, with the supplies voted, Scotland tranquillized, a standing army of soldiers and a standing army of lawyers at the disposal of the King, and those who had destroyed his friend and minister cast powerless at his discretion ? The Parliament knew, by experience often repeated, the whole political and moral scheme of Charles's government. His policy, the restoration of the absolute prerogative royal, such as it had been claimed by the Plantagenets and the Tudors,—and his moral creed justifying the effecting of this restoration by all and any means of fraud or force. His conduct, from as far back as the time of giving the royal assent to the Petition of Right, to that of his cor-

respondence with the army plotters, was an ineffaceable and renewed proof that no bond of treaty or accommodation with him, of which Parliament did not hold the security in its own hands, was of any value. The true way of judging of the conduct of the Long Parliament in these transactions, is to compare it with the conduct of the Convention Parliament in 1688; under circumstances not identical,—not similar in all their parts,—but so nearly analogous that the only very marked difference in Charles's favour is, that James had an example in memory which his father had not; and this, though mitigating the case for Charles, in no way lowers, in the comparison, the justification of his Parliament. James the Second once endeavoured to govern for three years without Parliaments:—Charles had done so five times, in violation of personal engagements such as James had never entered into, and had governed without a Parliament for a period of nearly twelve years. James the Second assumed a power to dispense with the known laws of the land,—and threatened and begun a transfer of church property, and the restoration of popery. Charles had

actually dispensed with the known laws of the land, in cases of confiscation, taxation, billeting, imprisonment, banishment, pillory, and mutilation. He, indeed, may fairly be supposed never to have meditated the restoration of popery; but he had effected the establishment of a sort of popery in Protestant clothing, more hostile to civil liberty than any which had ever been endured by the English nation from the time of King John to that of Henry the Eighth, when England boasted, and the world believed, that the shackles of priestly tyranny had been broken for ever. In Scotland he had striven to establish the rites of the Church of England, contrary to law and to his oath. In England, he had not only cast off, but made war upon, the old reforming principle of the English church, leaning for support upon that limb of her discipline which was of the nature of that ecclesiastical government which she had broken, and was, therefore, most distasteful generally to the people. Yet the Long Parliament had not, like that of the Convention, voted these acts a virtual abdication of the throne, nor had it proceeded, by its own authority, to

dispossess the Sovereign of his title and bestow it elsewhere. Probably, it may be answered, because it had not yet the power; —perhaps so; but be that as it may, surely it is not just to blame the Parliament of Charles, not having the power, because it did not take the direct course of power which was taken by the Parliament of James. The time for taking the pledge of the royal word was passed. The ruling party had learned the lesson, that it never is any part of the moral law of an arbitrary Sovereign to keep faith with such of their subjects as have resisted them. History abounds with instances of engagements solemnly ratified between arbitrary Kings and their people after advantages gained on the popular side: it affords not one of an arbitrary King who has ever observed any such engagements when the power of breaking them has returned to him. The question of whether Charles was to be resisted at all is a separate one; but, if to be resisted, surely it would have been madness in the Parliament to trust to his faith without the security of an hostage.

The Parliament proceeded, therefore, gra-

dually and warily, in a defensive course, towards an assumption of power, which could alone protect it against the assaults which it was in evidence before them that the King had in his immediate contemplation. It proceeded gradually to withdraw from the Crown all means of violence, until the Crown might be found on the head of some prince who might be trusted with such prerogative as is compatible with liberty, and is an essential part of a free monarchy.

It was in this spirit that Hampden, when, at a more advanced period of the dispute, he was asked, ‘what he would require that the King should do?’ answered, ‘That he place himself, with his children, and all that he hath, in our hands.’

PART THE SEVENTH.

From 1641 to 1642.

The King's project of visiting Scotland—Opposed by the Commons—Encouraged by the Scots—The King arrives at Edinburgh—Cultivates Popularity with the Covenanters—Hampden and others, Commissioners to attend upon the King—Intrigues and Violences of Montrose—The Scottish Incident—Irish Insurrection—The King returns to Loudon—Grand Protestation—Defections from the Country Party—Demand of the King for the Surrender of Kimbolton and the Five Members—Committee of Privileges retire to the City—Return in Triumph to Westminster—Petition of the Buckinghamshire Men—King leaves London—Departure of the Queen—King goes to York—Summons of Hull—Declaration of his Cause—Is joined by Lords—Raises his Standard—Hampden's motives and Falkland's compared—Breaking out of the Great Civil War.

PART THE SEVENTH.

From 1641 to 1642.

WHETHER, in Charles's judgement, the time had now become ripe for the blow which he had so long contemplated, or whether, a part of the machinery having failed him, the crisis was thus hastened, it is certain that he began to look impatiently for the means of redeeming himself from that temporizing course which he had pursued with so much disadvantage. The policy with which he had endeavoured to lull the suspicions of the Commons lay bare before them and the country ;—the discovery of the Army Plot, and his ill-disguised eagerness to keep together the levies of Roman Catholicks in Ireland, (useless, since the pacification with the Scots, for any purpose which would bear the avowal,) were strong and publick evidence of some dangerous design. But other considerations there were, besides the

difficulty of longer keeping his motives secret, which determined him to hasten their accomplishment. Some circumstances, of late, had threatened to raise jealousies among the English people, and to sow differences between a portion of them and the Houses. May admits that, for a short time, the popularity of the Parliament had been on the decline; ‘Bishops,’ says he, ‘had been much lifted at, though not taken away; whereby a great party, whose livelihood and fortune depended upon them, and, far more, whose hopes of preferment looked that way, most of the clergy, and both the Universities, began to be daily more disaffected to the Parliament, complaining that all rewards of learning must be taken away, which wrought deeply in the hearts of the young and more ambitious of that coat.’ The populace also had, on many occasions, committed great excesses in interruption of the Church service, while the Common Prayer was reading; and the Parliament, taunted by the Court with being the abettors of them, (and unsupported by the Crown,) had not, in truth, the power to controul them; unless by having recourse to means

which would have impaired their own credit with a strong party among the people. And such means they could not, while unsupported by the Crown, be expected to adopt.

To these causes of disgust were added the publick preachings of illiterate persons, mostly of the lowest order of tradesmen. ‘This, however,’ says May, ‘some, in a merry way, would put off; considering the precedent times, and saying that these tradesmen did but take up that duty which the Prelates and great Doctors had let fall,—the preaching of the Gospel; and that it was but a reciprocal invasion of each other’s callings; that chandlers, salters, weavers, and the like, preached, while the Archbishop himself, instead of preaching, was busied in projects about leather, salt, soap, and such commodities as belonged to those tradesmen.’

These distempers are almost inseparable from a state in which a country party is endeavouring by popular means to diminish the power of the King, and the King is well pleased, at any risk, to discredit the popular party, by casting them on the support of a tumultuous multitude, for whose acts they

are unfairly made answerable. Besides, the House of Commons had been obliged to substitute new imposts for those which they had abolished ; and now, first for many years, the people felt themselves taxed by votes of Parliament. It was, for many reasons, the King's desire at this juncture that the Parliament should adjourn ; the more so, because the bill against Episcopacy was yet pending, and the Houses were also engaged in other committees, for reparation to those who had suffered under the ship-money and other illegal taxes, for settling permanently the revenue of the customs in the hands of Parliament, and for taking into consideration, generally, the state of the kingdom. Charles suddenly announced to them that the visit which he had promised to his friends at Edinburgh must now be paid, and the Scottish Parliament opened by him in person. In vain did the Commons represent to him the charge of such a journey, at a time when the beggared condition of the exchequer, and the embarrassments of the publick credit, made it very difficult to carry on the publick service at all, and almost hopeless to meet

the demands of arrears due to both armies. And with what propriety was he to expose himself in person to the complaints and excesses of troops, some flushed with their late receipt of pay, some clamouring for what was due to them,—and all thirsting to be set free from a military restraint which was at once irksome and inglorious? The King changed his pretext, and now announced his journey as for the purpose of softening these difficulties and allaying these disorders, and of preparing the armies to disband in peace. The Houses scarcely required this proof that the motive was a treacherous one, and that, foiled in his attempt to bring up the English soldiers to London, he wished to join them on their own ground, and put himself at their head. The object of going northward was to further a double intrigue,—with the English officers, and with the Scottish Covenanters. It is also probable that he was not without hopes of finding evidence to set up the authenticity of the letter which Saville had forged, and thus to establish a case of treason against the Parliamentary leaders.

On the other hand, it appeared that the

Scottish Commissioners, (having, as long as the Puritans of England could assist them, pursued the objects so important to their own country in conjunction with that party,) were disposed to push forward the interests of Scotland, separately from that general cause in which they had met with such cordial assistance. They lent themselves readily and eagerly to the project of the King's journey, in order that they might in Edinburgh receive his ratification of the terms for which they had stipulated by treaty in London. Of this difference between the Parliamentary 'Grande'es' and their 'Brethren of Scotland,' Charles was not slow to take note; nor was the advantage small which he promised himself in further separating their interests and feelings by personal negociation in the metropolis of the North. There was a point beyond which it was not prudent for the English leaders to urge their remonstrances, for fear of irritating the Scots, and of perchance assisting by opposition the disunion which the King was endeavouring to effect by intrigue. The Commons took, therefore, a middle course;—they addressed him, pray-

ing that he would defer his journey for a fortnight, in order that the two armies on the frontier might be paid off, and the road be left unoccupied by which he and his train should pass. This address it was not easy to find stateable reasons for declining to comply with. The Earl of Holland was sent down with a commission to disband the armies; yet to avoid falling in with the English troops, already discontented with the irregularity of the supplies voted for their pay, does not appear to have suited the King's main design;—nor could he, in the end, be prevailed upon to delay his departure beyond two days. The publick display which he made, passing on horseback with the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hamilton, Lord Willoughby, his heralds, and a numerous retinue, in sight of the disbanding armies, and his early endeavours (if Baillie be to be believed) to engage the Scots with the Cavaliers of the English army in the forcible dissolution of the English Parliament, shew that what was urged by the Commons as a motive for delaying his journey was, in truth, one of his main incentives to under-

take and to hasten it*. He lost no time in addressing himself to the Covenanters. He raised Hamilton to the highest rank in the peerage of his country; Argyle he made a Marquis; and he created old Leslie, who had for the greater part of his life been a soldier of fortune, Earl of Leven; Loudon and Almond were also made Earls; and on the Earl of Dumferline he bestowed a large grant of crown lands, and a pension out of the publick revenue. Hamilton accepted the dukedom, but retained his attachment to the Covenant; and Leslie, in the overflowings of a short-lived gratitude, protested that he never again would bear arms against so good a King. But the English Parliament would have been blind indeed not to see the approaching confirmation of what they had apprehended from Charles's obstinate adherence to the project of moving northwards. He had, in the last days of his stay in London, evaded giving any direct answer to them; but, when pressed on

* Ludlow, who does not appear to have ever been led by party feelings into misstating such facts as he avers on his own knowledge, says that Charles offered to surrender to the Scots four English counties in pledge for the performance of his terms with them if they would assist him in this object.

that point, had, like one importuned on a secret which troubled him, changed the subject, and spoken on the Dutch treaty, and the depredations of the pirates from Tangier and Salee. The Parliament was not of materials or of a temper thus to be dealt with. If, indeed, the King had not had good reason to know the suspicions of his Parliament, or the Parliament to know the designs of the King, either party might, in these transactions, have easily been made the dupe of the other. But both were playing an exceeding deep game; and each understood every move of the other as it was made. The Scottish Presbyterians were troubled with no interest but their own; and both parties were bidding for their assistance. One course alone remained to the Parliament, as a check upon the objects which the King now so actively pursued. And that course was adopted. It was to depute commissioners, nominally, to treat with the Scots concerning the ratification of the treaty, and to obtain security for the debt due from them to the northern counties of England, but really to thwart the King's negotiations with the Covenanters, and to report upon them to the

Parliament. For this Committee, openly appointed by votes of both Houses, and openly proceeding to where the King held his Court, Lord Clarendon can find no less violent name than that of spies; which designation is eagerly adopted by Mr. Hume. In order that the jealousy of the Parliament and the true purpose of this Committee might be no secret to the King, the Commissioners named to attend him were, for the Lords, the Earl of Bedford, and Lord Howard of Escricke; and, for the Commons, Hampden and Fiennes; and afterwards were added Sir Philip Stapleton and Sir William Armyne.

They presented themselves to the King at Holyrood; and, with whatever distaste Charles was likely to view the presence and conduct of a Parliamentary Committee appointed for these acknowledged purposes, his communications with the members of it were conducted with all shew of graciousness on his side, and of duty and respect on their's. Hampden and Fiennes were the active and responsible chiefs of that Committee,—the soul of it's counsels, and the conductors of it's correspondence with the Parliament. The

latter of these two, on account of the rising importance which his abilities and his powerful connexions had given him ; the former on account of his boldness, temper, discretion, and wisdom ; of his being the man of ‘ the most absolute spirit of popularity ’ in both kingdoms ; and because, moreover, he had of all men of that party been in the closest communication with the Scots, and was best acquainted with the means of keeping them in awe of their former engagements and of their future interests with the English Parliament. Nor was it long before the duties of that commission were called into activity. The leaders of the Scottish Presbyterians, as we have seen, and several also of their principal preachers, were taken into high favour by the King, and into close communication with him. Henderson was always at his side, and had a grant of the rents of the Chapel Royal. He lived at his palace, advising with him in his closet, and ministering to his popularity with the multitude by accompanying him on every occasion of representation and display. Charles publicly accepted, and swore to, the terms of the Covenant ; and one

of the earliest acts of the Scottish Parliament which received the royal assent was the act of pacification, declaring that the commotions had arisen from the innovations in religion, and corruption of church government*. Argyle, Hamilton, and Lanerick his brother, were at first to be used for the purpose of bringing over the affections of the powerful families of Scotland. But Charles had always failed in this important object of his Scottish policy. A body of nobility so divided by old feudal recollections as that of Scotland, and so distrustful of Hamilton in consequence of his having openly sided with the King, in his late wars on the southern frontier of that country, was not to be bound to the King's interests through his means. Above all, Argyle and Hamilton had been ever the marked and personal foes of Montrose, whose restless spirit was never stayed by any considerations from pursuing by any means of violence or fraud the destruction of any man who thwarted his objects of intrigue, or obstructed the views of his high reaching ambition. Montrose, of whom Clarendon,

* Rushworth.

forgetful of the crimes which he imputes to him in the early part of his history, says, in the latter part of it, that ‘ he was not without ‘ vanity, but his virtues were much superiour,’ had been thrown into confinement by the Parliament of Scotland for a complication of proved offences of the highest sort. He had, the year before, engaged himself in a plot to betray the Covenanters’ army with whom he was serving, because he had failed in an attempt to procure the chief command ; and prudential motives alone prevented the Scots from publickly arraigning him for the act*. But all the circumstances of his treachery were known to the Committee of Estates,—their knowledge of it communicated to him,—and his conduct from thenceforth closely watched. And it was not long before his restless spirit threw him upon another design, of which he was openly convicted. He had incited one Stewart to accuse Argyle, Hamilton, and Rothes, of a treasonable intent to depose Charles. On the proceedings, Stewart, ill-qualified to be the agent of so

* Burnet’s Hist. own Times.—Nelson.—Clarendon, Hist. Reb.—Hardwicke’s State Papers.—Sidney Papers.

bold an intriguer as Montrose, confessed his crime.—Nothing then remained for Montrose but to denounce Stewart as having been suborned by Argyle to forge this confession ; and thus, embroiling the charge, he left his wretched accomplice in the dilemma of a capital accusation of leasing-making against one, at least, of the nobles, and to be consequently put to an ignominious death*.

But the turbulent genius of Montrose was not subdued by the failure of this enterprize ; —he well knew how to feed the suspicious temper of Charles, and, even from prison, secretly corresponded with him, through the means of a page of the Bed Chamber†. He indulged him with assurances of being able to furnish proof against the Hamiltons and Argyle ; but, as Clarendon assures us, advised the simpler mode of disposing of them by assassination, which, says the noble writer, he ‘ frankly undertook himself to manage.’ ‘ The King,’ says Clarendon, ‘ abhorred that

* Brodie.—Baillie's and Woodrow's MS. Letters in the Advocate's Library, as quoted by Brodie.—Baillie's published Letters.—Guthrie's Memoirs.—Appendix to Scottish Acts for 1641.

† Hailes's Letters.—Laing's History.

‘expedient, though, for his own security, he advised that proofs might be prepared for the Parliament.’ Yet still had not he the virtue or courage to free himself from the agency of so unprincipled an adviser. But Montrose established a stronger hold over the passions of Charles; he flattered him with the assurance of full evidence to convict the leaders of the English Parliament of treasonable correspondence with the Scottish army.

To cut off at one blow, by course of law, Pym, Hampden, Fiennes, and the rest, before whose courage and skill he stood in bonds, and from whose strong grasp he despaired of wresting the power he had lost, unless by getting a pretext for at once destroying them, was a tempting proposal. Charles was intoxicated with the hope,—threw off all discretion and reserve with this rash, bad man,—and committed his conduct at once to his dangerous guidance.

What evidence Montrose may have suborned, prepared, or only promised, will probably never be known. According to some writers, the wretched Saville was implicated

in this plot with a second forgery*. Ready as he always was to betray any party or person who might be misled into trusting him, he has left his character answerable, perhaps, for some acts of guilt of which it was morally clear. Saville must have been a man of no inconsiderable abilities; for, universally suspected, he was yet always employed as the busy agent of alternate factions for their several purposes, though never far enough in the confidence of any to be able to make his perfidy profitable to himself.

The immediate result of these intrigues was the event so well known to all readers of Scottish history under the name of the 'Incident.' In itself, probably, little more than one of those sudden enterprizes of feudal treachery and violence with which the Scottish history of the seventeenth century abounds, it has been covered by the actors and writers on both sides with a veil of pompous mystery, through which only occasional glimpses have been given, which have tended rather to confound than discover the truth.

* Laing's History of Scotland.

Suddenly, in the midst of Montrose's darker designs, Lord Henry Kerr, a generous-spirited rash young man, son to the Earl of Roxburgh, sent his defiance to Hamilton, proclaiming him a traitor to God, his King, and his country, and saying that 'he would make good his charge against him with his life.' Of this outrage Hamilton complained in his place in the Parliament the same day; and Kerr, being ordered by his father to go to the Parliament House to make submission, went with the inappropriate accompaniment of 600 officers and soldiers under arms. The Parliament, in consternation, raised the city guard, and, by proclamation, ordered Kerr's followers, and the multitude who were flocking from all parts, to disperse. For two days, peace seemed to be restored; but, on the third night, Argyle and the two Hamiltons fled to Kinneil. The alarm of an assassination plot instantly flew from mouth to mouth through Edinburgh. What afterwards appeared on evidence was, that a band of desperadoes, most of them men of noble family, with the Earl of Crawford at their head, and with a following of some hun-

dreds, had undertaken to arrest Argyle and the Hamiltons, and to hurry them off to a frigate stationed in Leith Roads, where they were to remain for trial on Montrose's charges; and that Crawford was to assassinate them in case of resistance. Thus much was communicated to them on the information of Colonel Urrie, afterwards so well known in the civil wars of both countries, to whom the plot had been laid open by a Colonel Stewart, who had obtained his knowledge through an identity of name with one of the conspirators*. Popular belief assigned to the enterprize a much wider range. It was said that Cochrane, one of Crawford's party, who commanded a regiment stationed near Edinburgh, was to march upon the city, to break into the Parliament House, to seize certain suspected members there, to liberate Montrose, and, with the assistance of the Kerrs, Humes, Johnstones, and some other borderers, to place Scotland entirely within the power of

* Lanerick's Relation.—Baillie's MS. Letters, quoted by Brodie.
—Baillie's published Letters.—Clarendon's Hist. Reb.—Laing.—
Evidence in Balfour's Diurnal.—MSS. Papers in Advocate's Library, as quoted by Brodie.

the King ;—furthermore, that Montrose was to procure evidence against the Covenanting Lords on their trials, the other insurgents to furnish troops, and, after this first blow had been struck, to accompany the King to England, and, with the remnants of the disbanded English army, to secure the means for dissolving the Parliament, and destroying the leaders of the country party there. To whatever length the intention had in fact gone, the Scottish Parliament forthwith called on Leslie to take command of the city guard and such other troops as could be collected and relied on, and to remain under arms for it's protection. The fugitive Lords, after some negotiation, returned. The King, on his part, loudly complained of what he represented as a plot forged by the leaders of the Covenant to excite dissensions between him and his Scottish subjects. But what the most tended to throw suspicion upon the King, and to discredit his remonstrance against Argyle and the Hamiltons, was his sudden attempt to raise a large sum of money in Holland ; and, above all, his going down on the very evening of the discovery to the Parliament

House, with all the persons who had been named by Urrie, and with 500 or 600 soldiers*.

That a violent seizure of the persons of the three Covenanting Lords was intended, there appears to be no reasonable doubt; nor is it very improbable, on the other hand, that the Covenanting Lords were eager to act in public upon the impulse of their fears, and so to expose the machinations of the plotters and the double-dealing of Charles, instead of thwarting the design and providing for their own safety, which perhaps they might have done, secretly, and without noise. After all, it is likely that this plot, like many other state plots, odious and dangerous in its intention, was exaggerated by those whose safety had been threatened, partly from passionate resentment, and partly for further political objects. Certain it is, that the news was instantly dispatched to London express by the English Commissioners, and that it arrived there with extraordinary speed, spreading consternation and panick

* Evelyn's Memoirs,—Appendix. — Correspondence between King Charles and Secretary Nicholas.

in the Standing Committee and in the two Houses, who had just reassembled after the adjournment. It was, doubtless, in many respects, a fortunate discovery for the country party in England. It gave manifest warning of a new course of designs on the part of the King. It opened also to both countries the whole secret of his dealings with Montrose; and it hastened the steps which the English Parliament had, before the recess, been inclined to adopt for its own safety, but for which it still wanted a signal and stateable justification. The Commissioners now set out for London, to resume their seats and report to the Houses. But, before they left Edinburgh, they addressed the King, praying him to return with them to Parliament as he had promised. Nor did many days elapse before he followed them; but, before his departure from Edinburgh, again receiving the Covenanting Lords into seeming favour, he gave a great feast to the Parliament. Once more Scotland saw her ancient palace glittering with the emblems of her independent sovereignty, and the descendant of her kings, the origin of whose

race she traced amid the clouds of dim antiquity, now again ‘encompassed with his kingdom’s pearl,’ and courting and receiving the favour of his people. For the time, the Scots forgot all but that Charles was their countryman and their King, and that he was soon to leave them ; and he left Scotland with more applause (notwithstanding their belief that he had so lately borne part in a plot against their Parliament) than met him when he came to confirm their Civil Constitution and Ecclesiastical Liberties. ‘His Majesty ‘departed,’ says Heath, ‘a contented King ‘from a contented people*.’

But in the Sister Island, a fearful storm at this time broke forth, soon to rage with a fury that threatened the total and bloody dismemberment of the Empire. It went near to effect, at once, the extermination of the whole Protestant population of Ireland.

The amount of the massacre actually perpetrated is variously stated ; the fears of all the Protestants, the passions of many, and the interests of not a few, tending to exagge-

* Heath’s Chronicle.

rate the number of the slain ; the exaggerations, of course, increasing with the efforts of the Popish writers afterwards to under-rate it. The slaughter was not limited to the towns and villages. It pursued it's victims among the bogs, the mountains, and the woods, to which they fled for refuge. All calculation, therefore, of it's amount, must be, to a great degree, fanciful. Thus much only is certain ; that the purpose of the insurgents extended to the entire rooting out of the Protestant settlers by an indiscriminate butchery of both sexes and of all ages ; and that, for several weeks, it proceeded almost unchecked. Dublin itself was saved by a mere accident. For a short space the rebels had made some show of humanity, until they secured the co-operation of the Lords of the Pale, who, in their detestation of the Puritans, and their remembrance of the persecutions which for near a century had been endured by themselves and their forefathers of their own faith and country, joined interests and forces with the Irish of the ancient stock, to crush the power of the English Parliament. The next day after this

union beheld the whole province of Ulster in carnage and conflagration, traversed by columns of armed men, intoxicated with religious hate, and deaf to every plea for mercy, marching upon points, and carrying to all quarters at once devastation and death. Modes of torture, too horrible for the human mind to contemplate, and too detestable for description, were invented and executed. The havock spread southward, abating only where it had consumed the materials on which it's fury had been exercised. The Shannon became choaked with the bodies of the slain. The generous though turbulent nature of Roger Moore, the chief who had first excited the rebellion, recoiled from the barbarities which marked it's course; and at last, finding his authority unable to controul the spirit which it had been powerful to evoke, he, after a gallant protest, quitted the bloodstained and dishonoured cause which he had undertaken in the hope to give liberty to his country; and he fled to Flanders. The principal leaders of this hideous warfare were, of the ancient Irish, Sir Phelim O'Neale, Macquire, and Macmahon, and of those of

the Pale, Lord Gormanstown. They pleaded a Royal Commission under a seal, surreptitiously obtained, as some writers state, (but this Mr. Godwin satisfactorily disproves,) from the foot of an ancient monastick charter; and, putting forth as their justification the intention to assist the King against his Scottish and English enemies, and assured of assistance from the Roman Catholick powers of the Continent, they assumed the ill-omened appellation of the Queen's Army*.

No candid person who has well examined the evidence now imputes to Charles that he connived at this atrocious insurrection; though, unhappily for him, his consent was proclaimed by the insurgents themselves, and, not very unreasonably, suspected by the English Parliament. On the other hand, it cannot be disguised that countenance and facilities had been afforded to them by his unjustifiable obstinacy in so long persisting, contrary to promise and to repeated warning, in keeping Strafford's Roman Catholick army together. His communications with it had

* Whitelocke.—Birch's Relation of Glamorgan's Transactions.

been detected, and published to the whole English and Scottish nations, with great care, and some exaggeration; and it had been disbanded, after an ineffectual attempt on his part to transport it into Flanders, there to remain within call in the hands of the King of Spain. But, after so much tampering with so wild and dangerous a body, the formal act of disbanding did not disunite its elements. They instantly reassembled for the most tremendous outbreak which has ravaged any country in modern times, and which continued in Ireland, with various, and seldom abated, rage, for upwards of two years.

On Charles's return to London, he found the state in the greatest disorder, and men's minds in the utmost alarm. During the whole adjournment, the Standing Committee, with Pym in the chair, had been collecting the materials for a solemn appeal to the country. Parliament had met on the 20th of October. The country was beset with danger and distraction, external and domestick. The Scottish intrigues, the Irish insurrection, France taking a part in each, Holland and Denmark in secret negociation with the King

to furnish him with military means against his subjects*, the Exchequer of England in pledge for an unprecedented amount of debt, and the publick credit nearly exhausted. To finish the sum of calamity and dismay, the plague was again breaking out in several parts of Middlesex, and even of Westminster itself†.

The two Houses had, before the King's return, gone no small way towards assuming the powers of an independent government. Just before the adjournment, they had, for the first time, entered on their Journals a resolution under the name of an Ordinance against 'the raising and transporting of forces of horse or foot out of his Majesty's dominions of England and Ireland‡;' which, whether intended or not, by its framers, to furnish a convenient precedent for afterwards enacting laws on the mere vote of the two Houses, had been, in this case, rendered almost unavoidable by the attempt of the King to establish his Irish army in Flanders. To this, however, the royal assent was after-

* Newcastle's Letters.—Duchess of Newcastle's Memoirs.

† Commons' Journals, Sept. 6.

‡ Ibid. Sept. 9.

wards given ; and it is remarkable only as the first instrument bearing a name which not long after began to signify an Act of Parliament passed without the consent or authority of the Crown.

Charles, on his arrival in London, proceeded as he had done in Edinburgh. He applied himself first to pay court to the City. As in Edinburgh, he met with extraordinary testimonies of affection in return ; but, as in Edinburgh, he mistook both the motive of these demonstrations and the nature of his own popularity. He had never been personally disliked by his people. On the contrary, they were anxious to mark their affection towards him,—perhaps, also, towards the due prerogatives of the Crown ; but they were equally eager, in all they did and said, to separate him from his evil Councillors. He believed his evil Councillors, and not his people ; and weakly and passionately concluded that the City would proceed to support him to the utmost against his Parliament. He knew not—he would not be convinced—that silently, slowly, but irresistibly, was growing up and spreading a jealousy of all

the institutions of the country, except the courts of common law. These had never been seen as instruments of tyranny, except in the great case of the Ship-Money Decision; and that decision had been struck off the Rolls, the Judges who had concurred in it disgraced and punished, the precedent reversed, and the patents of the Judges declared to be no longer held at the pleasure of the Crown.

Charles was received as one who had power to act a great part at a crisis of great danger and difficulty; and at such a crisis publick bodies are always inclined to form sanguine expectations of those who come with great power of doing good. He was gloriously feasted in the City. In return, he feasted the citizens gloriously at Hampton Court; but scarcely had they time to proffer their love and duty before it was made matter of general discourse among the Court party that the City was weary of the Parliament, and was prepared to support the King alone. ‘Whether,’ says May, ‘it begat the same opinion in the King or not, I cannot tell; but certainly some conceived so by actions which immediately followed, expressing a

‘ greater confidence against the Parliament
‘ than before ; displacing some from such
‘ trusts as they had conferred upon them,—
‘ insomuch that the City, presently after,
‘ finding what ill use was made of those ex-
‘ pressions, were enforced to declare them-
‘ selves, in a petition to both Houses, that,
‘ since some ill affected people had inter-
‘ preted their loyal and affectionate attach-
‘ ment to the King as a sign that they would
‘ wholly adhere to him and desert the Parlia-
‘ ment, they openly professed the contrary ;
‘ and that they would live and die with them
‘ for the good of the Commonwealth. After
‘ which, the City, no less than the Parliament,
‘ did seem to be distasted both by the King
‘ and Queen.’

Most men agree that the crisis of the Grand Remonstrance was that at which all shallow truce, all insidious compromise, ceased between King and Parliament ; and when secret jealousy, intrigue, and machination were changed into manifest and avowed enmity. There was no longer a chance left of restoring the balance of the Constitution. All that remained was to make choice between render-

ing up to the King, without further dispute, the whole of that arbitrary prerogative which he had claimed, or giving the sovereign power of the Commonwealth in trust to the Parliament during the remainder of his reign, in the hope of its being surrendered back whenever the purposes of the trust should be at an end;—and that were to know little of the nature of popular assemblies once invested with such a power.

It is a difficult question to determine at what period, after the meeting of the Long Parliament, it might have been possible for Charles, even if he could have been persuaded to act sincerely, and under good counsel, to preserve the due prerogatives of his crown by a course consistent at once with his own dignity and with a spirit of wise concession befitting the temper of the times, and of the men with whom he had to act. This only is clear, that, at the beginning, such a course was practicable, and that now it was no longer so. No form of constitution, of which monarchy is a part, can preserve liberty, nor can a free monarchy stand, where the separate powers of king and people are

employed to invade each other's lawful authority. This, however, is to be observed of the testimony of Clarendon : up to the time of the Long Parliament, the whole course of his narrative and reasoning are against the King ; afterwards, uniformly in his favour. Upon the evidence then of him, who, of all men, wrote on these matters with his affections the most strongly bound to the cause of Charles, it is clear, with respect to the often agitated question of ' Which party gave the provocation,' that the course of aggression was begun by Charles.

The King having refused, when he left England, to appoint any lawful commission for administering the sovereign power in his name, the Parliament, in his absence, and under the urgent alarm of the Irish rebellion, was not loth to issue an ordinance for the raising of troops in that country. Charles, on his return to his English metropolis, removed the guard which the two Houses had by address obtained from him to be placed in Palace Yard for their protection under command of the Earl of Essex ; thus leaving them no better pledge than his promise for their

security, when appearances justified every suspicion that one of those violent enterprizes might be repeated from which they had so lately and so narrowly escaped. He appointed other troops to quarter at their doors under the orders of the Earl of Dorset, an intemperate man, devoted to the court, and known, most unfavourably, to the Parliament, as a prime promoter of some of those cruel censures in the Star Chamber, so lately denounced by resolution and reversed by statute. In this difficulty, the Commons proceeded with moderation and dignity. They directed the Speaker, by his authority, to remove the guard, and required that, instead of it, the High Constable should provide ‘a strong and sufficient watch*.’ They, moreover, voted a conference with the Lords, touching the tumultuous assembly of people about the Houses of Parliament. But here the Lords deserted them. And, at best, this precaution was but temporary. Their permanent safety remained to be provided for; for, at the same time, the King had placed the Tower of London, with

* Commons' Journal, Dec. 30, Jan. 1.

the charge of the Mint, in the hands of Colonel Lunsford, an unprincipled desperado, who had signalized himself by many acts of outrageous violence, one of which had nearly brought him to the gibbet, and who was believed to be a ready instrument for any lawless enterprize. Lunsford was in a few days removed from this command, in consequence of an unanimous address ; but on the morrow of his dismissal he began to take vengeance on the Parliament, and justify their opinion of him, by marching down to Westminster Hall with an armed mob, assaulting and wounding several persons, and threatening to drag the members out by force. It was then, but not till the 7th of January, that both Houses prayed the King's consent to a bill for placing the militia, both by sea and land, in the hands of commissioners to be appointed by the Parliament.

The Lord Keeper Littleton supported this bill*. Selden, the highest constitutional authority in the House, opposed it. In truth, it was not capable of any defence but that of the overwhelming danger and necessity of the

* Clarendon—Hist. Reb.

time. But, with equal vehemence, he resisted the King's commission of array ; and, afterwards, to sanction, by his example, the expedient which the danger and necessity of the time had imposed, he accepted a commission of lieutenancy under the Parliament for raising the militia in their behalf. To that clause in the bill for pressing soldiers, which denied the power of the crown to press, save under the authority of a bill, he gave his entire and eager consent. To this check upon an unlawfully assumed power, the King made furious and obstinate opposition, sending a message, pending the discussion of the bill, to declare that he would never pass it. A declaration which only produced a remonstrance against the King's interference with bills in their passage through Parliament.

In the Appendix to Evelyn is a letter from the Queen to Secretary Nicholas, November 12, which shews that both she and the King were well aware of the tendency of such a precedent as that of the first Ordinance, even though justified by such an emergency as that in Ireland. ' I send you,' says she, ' a lettre ' for Milord Keeper, that the King ded send

‘ to me, to deliver it if I thought fit. The
‘ subject of it is to make a declaration against
‘ the ordres of Parliament which ar made
‘ without the King.’

Meanwhile, on the 1st of December, the Grand Remonstrance was presented to the King. At great length, and with great power, it summed up all the grievances under which the Parliament and people had suffered throughout his whole reign. Illegal imposts, monopolies, fines, and arbitrary imprisonments, denials of justice by some courts, and oppressive jurisdiction of others; Popish Lords in Parliament, and favour shewn to evil counsellors,—all were presented at one view; and it concluded with a general petition that the prelates should be deprived of their votes, that none should be entrusted with the publick affairs whom the Parliament might not approve of, and that the escheated lands of the Irish rebels might not be alienated, but reserved for the support of the Crown, and the payment of the expenses of the war.*

On the different clauses, a great and violent debate had arisen. On the 22nd of Novem-

ber, the House had continued sitting till three in the morning; having met at ten on the preceding day, and having begun the debate on the remonstrance at three in the afternoon. Some of the members, struck with alarm, and many, says Clarendon, worn out with fatigue, had retired from the House*. At length, the resolutions were carried, after two divisions, by a majority of only 159 to 148, and of 124 to 101. And now a desperate stand was attempted to be made by Hyde. It was to the effect of a protest, to be entered by the minority against the decision of the House. The conflict of passions and voices was tremendous, and bloodshed, says Sir Philip Warwick, would probably have ensued; 'we had caught at each other's locks, and sheathed our swords in each other's bowels, had not the sagacity

* Clarendon and Dugdale endeavour to shew, that so many of the old members had left the House, that the votes were passed by a packed committee. Mr. Brodie very properly observes, that this falling off in the members of the House, towards the end of the debate, would affect both parties. But the proportionate number of the two divisions upon the remonstrance, and of the third, on Hyde's motion, shew that the comparative strength of the minority had not decreased.—See Sir Philip Warwick's account of the same transaction. See also Appendix to Evelyn.

‘and great calmness of Mr. Hampden, by a
‘short speech, prevented it, and led us to
‘defer our angry debate until the next morn-
‘ing.’ He rose amidst the uproar, and, with
that commanding influence, which, though
rarely exerted, he possessed above all men in
the House, he composed, for a moment, the
rage of the contending parties, sufficiently to
gain their consent to an adjournment; by
which, at once, he saved them from a less
appeasable conflict, and effectually baffled
Hyde’s project, which could only have suc-
ceeded by some compromise, forced on in the
confusion, for striking the former proceedings
from the journals. Cromwell declared next
day to Lord Falkland, that, had the Remon-
strance not been carried, ‘he would instantly
‘have sold all that he had, and gone to Ame-
‘rica; and that he knew there were many
‘other honest men of the same resolution.’*
The opposition, thus vanquished, was not
renewed, and the Remonstrance passed peace-
ably through its next and final stage.

Thus far, however, since the King’s breach

* Clarendon. Hist. Reb.

with the City, some of these events over which he had no controul had, indirectly, worked benefit to his cause. The Grand Remonstrance had given a motive to some, and a pretext to others, who heretofore had opposed him, for now devoting themselves entirely to his interests. Hyde had thrown off all disguise with the Country Party, and Culpeper, though occasionally serving with them in committees, in cases of privilege, and even on the defence of the kingdom and the levying of soldiers, was now acknowledged by all as one of the selected council of the King. Falkland was shaken by late events, and, looking forward with dismay, wavered in his course; yet his veneration for Parliaments and their privileges, and his strong and jealous love of liberty, still attached him to the persons, and made him reluctant to quit the party, of those with whom he had so long and cordially served. Sir Ralph Hopton was still as eager as ever in support of the strongest votes against the Court. That Falkland had not yet, nor till after the affair of the five members, quitted the country party is clear, from reference to the journals; and

to suppose that his association with them during the short time which passed between the remonstrance and that event, was insidious or insincere, 'in tanto viro,' to use the words of his friend, 'in tanto viro injuria virtutum fuerit.'

But the time unquestionably was now come at which the most honourable and constant spirit might fairly justify itself in a direct and open change of politicks. It was not that the terms of the Grand Remonstrance had put forth any new doctrines, or made any new claim for the Commons; but it was clearly intended as a publick justification of claims already made and daily becoming more frequent and decisive. And many an honest and high mind, which had acquiesced in the necessity of some of the earlier assumptions of power by the Parliament, thought that the time was come at which, at length, to make a stand for Monarchy.

Besides the advantage which Charles derived from the late adhesion of so many honourable men to his interests, and from the example which it held forth to others, his own published answer to the Remonstrance was

calculated to strengthen it. Hyde drew up this answer for his master with an ability worthy of that pen which has since commended to posterity the recital of his troubles and his fate. Charles's impatience, however, would never long suffer favourable events or good counsel to work for his advantage; but would always embroil his case at the very moment when the greatest circumspection was wanted to improve it. The attempt to seize the five members was the decisive act of his rashness and perfidy;—perfidious, because, on the very day before, he had remonstrated with the House on their renewed demand for a guard of soldiers, and had assured them, 'on the word of a king,' that he should be as tender of their persons as of those of his children*;—decisive, as rendering it no longer possible, from that fatal day, for the House to set up for itself any security but that of absolute force. Votes and resolutions, which are the lawful weapons of a Parliament while the Constitution stands, are powerless when it is suspended. The 'power of the

* Rushworth.

purse' is popularly said to be the security of Parliaments against Sovereigns; but against a tyrant, with the power of the sword in his hands, it is none. It would be as reasonable for the unarmed man to console himself with his fancied power of the purse in presence of the spoiler who has that of the sword.

On the 4th of January this frantick enterprise was undertaken;—whether solely of Charles's own motion, or whether under the advice of Digby, against whom the House had, a few days before, complained to the Lords of his declaration 'that this was no free Parliament,' or whether at the instance of the Queen, who is said to have bid him 'pull those rogues out by the ears, or never see her face again,' is unnecessary here to inquire. The boundary which separates the empire of absolute violence from that of law and privilege was now passed; and, as if to make the act more signal, and to deprive himself of all hope of retreat or shelter, under the responsibility of others, Charles did it in person. From that hour, all reserve and scruple on the other side was at an end, except so far as related to the still disclaiming

all violence to his person or to his 'lawful power.'

Charles, relying on the information, more or less authentick, which he had received in Scotland, respecting the English leaders, and assuming as probable, what does not appear ever to have existed, some correspondence between them and Richelieu, on the 3rd sent down his Attorney-General, Sir Edward Herbert, to the bar of the House of Lords, to accuse in his name the Lord Kimbolton, and five gentlemen of the House of Commons, of high treason, desiring that a Secret Committee might examine witnesses, and that the accused persons should be placed in custody. The Lord Kimbolton, who was in his place, with strong professions of his innocence submitted himself to whatever order the House should make, but prayed that he might be cleared as publicly as he had been charged*. A Committee being immediately appointed to examine precedents as to the regularity of proceedings, and the Commons being informed of the accusation against its members, the Lords adjourned till

* See his published speech, Brit. Mus.

the following day, no man moving for the commitment of Kimbolton on the King's behalf*. The Commons, meanwhile, having received information that the lodgings and trunks of Mr. Strode, Hazlerigge, Pym, Hampden, and Hollis, had, in their absence, been sealed up by the King's command, ordered, by resolution, that the Serjeant-at-Arms attending the House should break the seals, and that the Speaker's warrant should be issued for the apprehension of the persons who had affixed them. The House further declared, in conformity with the unanimous protestation which they had signed four months before, that any hinderance or molestation to the persons of any of their members, until the House should have been first made acquainted with the grounds of such proceedings, was a high breach of privilege, and might be resisted by force. The House then desired an immediate conference with the Lords; but, before the Lords' answer came down, a serjeant-at-arms appeared at the table, and required the persons of the five members.

* Rushworth, Whitelocke, Clarendon, Hist. Reb.

The Commons unanimously stood upon their privilege, and, desiring the serjeant to retire, sent a message by a Committee of their own body, that they should take the premises into their serious consideration, and that the members should be ready to answer any legal charge. The Lords, next day, took a similar course. The Commons, however, instantly went into Committee; and Strode and Hollis spoke, repelling the charge of treason, demanding trial, and professing their willingness to submit themselves and their case, without any further preparation, to any legal process of inquisition and judgment *.

On the 4th, the accused members attending according to order in their places, Lord Falkland, in the name of the Committee who had taken the message to the King, stated in answer that he was desired to inform the House, that the serjeant had done nothing but what he had it in command to do. Upon this Hampden rose, and, on grounds distinctly and powerfully stated, laid down the tests by which he desired, with respect to

* Rushworth, Commons Journals, Jan. 3. Somers's Tracts. Published Speeches, Brit. Mus.

the matter of accusation, that his conduct might be tried. He entered not on the particulars of the charges ; for the evidence to support them had not yet been opened to the House ; but, as was necessary when the terms loyalty, obedience, and resistance, had been so loosely employed, he particularized upon these several duties as constituting the difference between a good and a bad subject. He divided them under the heads of ‘ Religion towards God, loyalty and ‘ due submission to the lawful commands of ‘ the Sovereign, and good affection towards ‘ the safety and just rights of the people, ‘ according to the ancient and fundamental ‘ laws of the realm.’ Concerning religion, he claimed the right of determining, by searching the sacred writings, in which ‘ are contained all things necessary to salvation ;’ he contrasted this law with the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Rome, and averred that ‘ all other sects and schisms that lean ‘ not only on the Scriptures, though never so ‘ contrary to the Church of Rome, are a ‘ false worshipping of God, and not the true ‘ religion.’ He then proceeded to define

the limits and extent of 'lawful obedience' to the Sovereign, 'acting with the free consent of his great council of state, assembled in Parliament. For the first, to deny a willing and dutiful obedience to a lawful sovereign and his privy council, (for, as Camden truly saith, the commands of the Lords Privy Counsellours, and the edict of the prince, is one, they are inseparable, the one never without the other,) to deny to defend his royal person and kingdoms against the enemies of the same, either publick or private, or to deny to defend the ancient privileges and prerogatives of the King, as pertinent and belonging of right to his royal Crown, and the maintenance of his honour and dignity, or to deny to defend and maintain true religion in the land, according to the truth of God, is one sign of an evil subject. Secondly, to yield obedience to the commands of a King, if against the true religion, and the ancient and fundamental laws of the land, is another sign of an ill subject. Thirdly, to resist the lawful power of the King, to raise insurrection against the King, admit him averse in his religion, to con-

‘spire or in any way to rebell against his
‘sacred person, though commanding things
‘against our consciences in exercising reli-
‘gion, or against the rights and privileges of
‘the subject, is an absolute sign of a disaf-
‘fected and trayterous subject.’ Of the
means to know the difference between a good
subject and a bad, ‘by their obedience to the
‘laws, statutes, and ordinances made by the
‘King, with the whole consent of his Parlia-
‘ment,’ he spoke thus:—‘First, I conceive,
‘if any particular Member of a Parliament,
‘although his judgement and vote be con-
‘trary, do not willingly submit to the rest,
‘he is an ill subject to his king and country ;
‘and, secondly, to resist the ordinance of the
‘whole state of the kingdom, either by the
‘stirring up a dislike in the hearts of his
‘Majesty’s subjects of the proceedings of the
‘Parliament, to endeavour, by levying arms,
‘to compel the King and Parliament to make
‘such laws as seem best to them, to deny the
‘power, authority, and privileges, of Parlia-
‘ment, to cast aspersions upon the same and
‘its proceedings, thereby inducing the King
‘to think ill of the same, and to be incensed

‘ against the same, to procure the untimely
‘ breaking up and dissolution of a Parlia-
‘ ment, before all things be settled by the
‘ same, for the safety and tranquillity both of
‘ King and state, these are apparent signs of
‘ a treacherous and disloyal subject against
‘ his king and country. I humbly desire my
‘ actions may be compared with either ; and
‘ both as a subject, a Protestant, as a native
‘ of this my country, and as I am a Member
‘ of this present and happy Parliament, that I
‘ be esteemed, as I shall be found guilty upon
‘ these articles exhibited against myself and
‘ the other gentlemen, to be a bad or a good
‘ subject to my sovereign and native country ;
‘ and to receive such sentence upon the same
‘ as by this honourable House shall be con-
‘ ceived to agree with law and justice*.’

Hazelrigge followed, approaching the specifick charges in the articles rather nearer than Hampden had done. He took the phraze, ‘ to subvert the fundamental laws,’ under which head he classed privilege of Parliament. Treason could consist, only in

* A learned and discreet Speech of Master John Hampden,
&c. &c. &c.—London, 1642.

words or acts. His speeches in that House were in their recollection, and, in his votes, he had generally concurred with the majority. His acts, and those of the gentlemen with him, particularly with reference to Scotland, had been in accordance with votes and resolutions of that House; and the levying of war, and promoting tumults and seditions, could only refer to their concurrence with the rest of the House in the ordinance for troops in Ireland to stay the progress of the rebellion, or to the raising of the militia, and placing the city guard of Westminster before the doors of the House, to suppress the tumults of the people, and to protect the House from a military force unlawfully menacing the freedom of it's debates. Hazelrigge's speech was not destitute of ingenuity or force; but, as men generally do who defend themselves by anticipation, he fell into the error of imputing some motives for the accusation which could not have had any place in the minds of the accusing party. The supposition that Charles undertook the prosecution of the five members, for the purpose of stopping the further proceedings

of the bill against episcopacy, cannot be true. That bill had only very lately been resumed by a portion of the Country Party, and had not yet recovered the check, which, through the successful artifice of Hyde, it had received during the preceding session*. It was a matter more likely to divide than strengthen the power of the Country Party. And, above all, if it had been Charles's object, by impeachment, to remove from the House the principal promoters of that bill, he would not have included in that impeachment two, who, by their position, were the most important opposers of it, Pym and Hollis. The single and simple object of Charles was to at once destroy six of the most active and popular opponents of his Government. What evidence he may have supposed himself to be possessed of for this purpose has never appeared. By his rashness he put it beyond his own power to proceed further with it; and, if there were any documents in his possession on which he

* See Clarendon's account (Hist. Reb.) of his own conduct in the Chair of the Committee on the Bill against Episcopacy, whereby for a time it was defeated.

could have proceeded, these he kept out of sight, in order to keep out of sight also all means of detecting the source from which he derived them. Unless, by the valuable and indefatigable labours of Mr. Lemon, in arranging the stores of the State Paper Office, some evidence, now unknown, should arise, it will, in all probability, remain for ever an unsolved question, upon what testimony Charles was urged to this ill-fated and disastrous enterprise. The evening before had been passed by him in active preparations. Arms were moved from the Tower to Whitehall, and a band of rash young men were assembled, for whom a table was prepared at the palace, and who, the next morning, from the violent expressions which they used against the Houses, seemed prepared for any deed of desperate violence.

Scarcely had the House reassembled, after the dinner hour's adjournment, for the renewal of the debate, when intelligence was brought by a Captain Langrish, who had passed the party in their way down the street, that the King, escorted by a guard of some hundreds of officers, soldiers, and other armed

attendants, was advancing upon Westminster Hall. Private information had been received of this design by Lord Holland from Lady Carlisle, who was in the Queen's household; and by him it was communicated to Pym. To avoid the bloodshed which must probably have ensued, if the House, which had so lately pledged itself to protect its privileges, had been forced to defend its members against armed men with the King in person at their head, the five members were ordered to withdraw, which, after some expostulation and resistance from Strode, they did. The King, meanwhile, was entering New Palace Yard, and, proceeding through Westminster Hall, where his attendants ranged themselves on both sides, he ascended the stairs, and knocked at the door of the House of Commons*. Entering, with his nephew, Charles, the Prince Palatine of the Rhine†, at his side, he glanced his eye towards the place where Pym was wont to sit, and then walked directly to the chair. The Speaker, though commanded

* Rushworth. Warwick. Whitelocke. Clar.—Hist. Reb. May.

† Not Rupert, as some historians have mistakenly represented it. He did not arrive in England till two months after this event.

to sit still with the mace before him, rose, with the rest of the House, at the King's approach, and, leaving the steps of the chair to which the King ascended, flung himself on his knee before him. In vain did the King look round for the objects of his search. The members stood, with their heads uncovered, in stern respectful silence, when the King addressed the Speaker, Lenthall, in words which are well known as being the cause of this memorable reply :—‘ May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here; and I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of me*.’

The King's speech in answer sufficiently shows how little, before he entered on this strange proceeding, he had foreseen the chance of any part of his plan failing him. All the difficulties of his position now at once rushed to his mind. He saw no means

* Rushworth. Whitelocke. Clarendon—Hist. Reb. May. Hatsell's Precedents.

of honourable or dignified retreat. He looked around from the chair, and he saw all eyes bent upon him, every countenance expressive of amazement at his rashness, but all men determined to act the great part he had imposed upon them, as became their position, their engagements, and their duties. He looked down, and he saw the Speaker in the posture which denoted an awful sense of what was demanded of him by the presence before which he knelt, but to which he would not surrender the trust with which the Commons had invested him. At the table sat Rushworth taking down the words which alone broke that portentous silence, and which, on the morrow, must sound in every ear in the metropolis, to spread alarm through the Empire, and to be delivered down to all posterity with the story of that day. The King's reply was weak and confused, and it bore not on the question. 'There is no privilege 'in cases of treason.' . . . 'I intend nothing 'but to proceed against them in a fair and 'legal way*.' The breach of privilege was

* See Commons' Journals, Jan. 4.

his entering the House ;—the breach of law was his endeavouring to execute a committal for treason without examination and without warrant. ‘ I tell you I do expect that, as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me, otherwise I must take my own course to find them.’ He must have known that the House could not, after the unanimous declaration for the defence of it’s privileges, suffer it’s members to be surrendered at this illegal bidding ; and thus he retired, amid loud and repeated cries of ‘ Privilege, privilege !’ The House instantly adjourned.

On the following day a resolution was passed, expressing the sense of the House concerning the violence which had been committed. A Committee of Privileges was voted to sit in the City, and to confer with the Lords. To the City the King repaired before the Committee had assembled. He went there for the double purpose of requiring from the Common Council their assistance in apprehending the five members, and of ascertaining how far he might, by his presence, secure the support of the magistrates and of the people.

The spirit, however, which had shown itself in the House of Commons, had been already eagerly seconded by the citizens of London. The cries of ' Privilege ! ' which he had left sounding from so many voices in the House of Commons, met and pursued him in his progress through the streets ; and a letter of fearful purport was thrown into his carriage as he passed along, containing the words of the Ten Tribes of Judah when they forsook the weak and tyrannical Rehoboam,—' To your tents, O Israel ! ' In the Guildhall his speech was received without one responsive cheer ; and, though he was that day nobly feasted, and, though he returned unimpeded and uninsulted to Whitehall, he clearly saw that, except within the walls of his own palace, and among his devoted courtiers and the dissolute levies which had followed him the day before, it was vain to look in his metropolis for support against the Parliament*.

The five accused members meanwhile were received into a house in Coleman Street, from which place of refuge, notwithstanding a pro-

* Rushworth. Clarendon—Hist. Reb. Micro Chronicon. Lilly's Observations.

clamation issued to apprehend them and to forbid the harbouring of them, the King was unable to dislodge them. From thence they maintained an uninterrupted communication with the Committee of Privileges, which, after its first meeting, sat, day by day, alternately, in Grocers', Goldsmiths', and Merchant Tailors' Halls. To make a powerful appeal to the citizens upon Parliamentary privilege invaded and publick liberty menaced, to prepare and confirm them for the times that were at hand, and to ensure their protection to the secluded members, was the first work of this Committee. This was managed principally by Serjeants Glyn and Maynard. The next few days were spent in preparing to resume the sittings of Parliament at Westminster. The Committee declined, with thanks, the offer of the city apprentices to conduct them back to the House, alledging, that the guard of the train bands was sufficient for their protection; but it was at last determined, that the services of the mariners should be accepted to convey them by water. They ordered a ship, which had arrived from Berwick with arms

and ammunition, to fall down the river, out of the reach of the Tower guns, and moor herself midway, to assist in the event of any sudden attack; and, on a report that the King proposed to come again to the House with a purpose of reconciliation, they ordered that he and the nobles in his train should be received with all duty and respect. Till the 10th, daily remonstrances and petitions were tendered. On the 11th, the five members returned by water, with the Committee, to attend the first meeting of the House: Lord Kimbolton was with them. The Thames was covered with boats, and the bridge and banks were lined with spectators. The Sheriffs embarked, with a part of the city guard, attended by armed boats and barges manned by sailors and carrying ordnance with matches lighted; and the rest of the train bands marched by land to secure the avenues to the House. The procession was doubtless to the full as much for triumph as for security. The members, who had, a week before, with difficulty escaped a doubtful, perhaps a bloody, conflict with the followers of the King, were now borne along upon their return under

the gaudy flashing of arms and standards, to the sounds of martial musick, and of ‘ guns and sakers,’ and to the acclamations of the people of both cities.

On the following day, the famous Buckinghamshire Petition was presented to the Houses, by about four thousand freeholders, who had ridden up from their county, each with a copy of the late protestation worn in his hat, to shew their affection to the cause of the Parliament, and to the person of Hampden, their representative.* They complained of ‘ a malignant faction, whereby the perfecting of ‘ a reformation is hindered ; the endeavours of ‘ the House of Commons in great part successless ; our dangers grown upon us by reiterated plots ; and priests and other delinquents ‘ unpunished, to the encouragement of others ; ‘ Ireland lost by protracted counsels ; and, to ‘ cut off all hopes of future reformation, the ‘ very being of Parliaments endangered by a ‘ desperate and unexampled breach of privileges, which, by our protestation lately taken, ‘ we are bound with our lives and estates to

* Rushworth. Clarendon—Hist. Reb.

‘ maintain, And, in respect of that latter attempt upon the honourable House of Commons, we are now come to offer our service to that end, and resolved in their just defence to live and die.’

They were dismissed with a vote of thanks, and informed, that, as the Parliament was sufficiently guarded by the great care of the City, they might return home, till further occasion ; of which they should be duly informed*.

Meanwhile, the King had suddenly retired to Hampton Court, from that metropolis to which he never more returned but as a prisoner.

The Buckinghamshire men had told the House of Commons that they had also a petition to the King, and desired the directions of that House as to the best way of delivering it, who advised them, that ‘ if they selected eight or ten of their number to wait upon his Majesty with it, that course would be the most acceptable †.’

To Windsor, therefore, this deputation repaired, where the King now held his Court,

* Rushworth.—Commons’ Journals.

† Commons’ Journals.

having stayed but a few days at his palace at Hampton. This petition limited itself to the case of their representative, and the five other impeached persons. ‘ That having, by virtue of your Highness’s writ, chosen John ‘ Hampden Knight for our Shire, in whose ‘ loyalty we, his countrymen and neighbours, ‘ have ever had good cause to confide, of late ‘ we, to our no less amazement than grief, ‘ find him, with other Members of Parliament, ‘ accused of treason; and, having taken into our serious consideration the manner of their ‘ impeachment, we cannot but, under your ‘ Majesty’s favour, conceive that it doth so ‘ oppugn the rights of Parliament, (to the ‘ maintenance whereof our protestation binds ‘ us,) that we believe it is the malice which ‘ their zeal to your Majesty’s service and of ‘ the State hath contracted in the enemies to ‘ your Majesty, the Church, and the Commonwealth, that hath occasioned this foul accusation, rather than any deserts of their’s ‘ who do likewise through their sides wound ‘ us, your petitioners, and others, by whose ‘ choice they were presented to the House. ‘ We, therefore, most humbly pray that Mr.

‘ Hampden, and the rest that lie under the
‘ burthen of that accusation, may enjoy the
‘ just privileges of Parliament.’

The King’s answer was conceived in a mild and prudent tone. That ‘ being graciously
‘ pleased to let all his subjects understand
‘ his care not knowingly to violate any of the
‘ privileges of Parliament, he had signified,
‘ through the Lord Keeper, that because of
‘ the doubt that hath been raised of the
‘ manner, he would waive his former proceed-
‘ ings, and proceed in an unquestionable way.
‘ That then it will appear that he had so suf-
‘ ficient grounds as he might not, in justice to
‘ the kingdom and honour to himself, have
‘ foreborne. And yet that he had much
‘ rather that the said persons should prove
‘ innocent than be found guilty. However,
‘ he could not conceive that their crimes could
‘ in any sort reflect upon those, his good sub-
‘ jects, who elected them to serve in Parlia-
‘ ment *.’

This reply, as well as the form of message which had been sent to the Lords, engaging,

* Rushworth.

‘as some doubts had arisen concerning the ‘manner,’ to proceed by due course of law, were probably advised and drawn up by Falkland. Falkland, it will be remembered, had been deputed by the Commons on that unsuccessful mission of remonstrance upon Herbert’s articles of impeachment against the members, and upon the conduct of the Serjeant-at-Arms. Loyally and affectionately zealous for the interests of his master, he had spared no pains to advise an answer very different in spirit from that with which he had, on that occasion, been obliged to return.

In three days after he sent for Falkland, and gave him the seals of office of Chief Secretary of State, Culpeper having, the day before, been made Chancellor of the Exchequer*.

Falkland did not, because his advice had been rejected, feel it the less his duty to give his best services when Charles’s returning prudence inclined him, in danger and alarm,

* Culpeper’s appointment was a very strange one. He was made Chancellor of the Exchequer for life, by patent dated January 6. Another instance of the unwise and unconstitutional modes in which Charles undertook to baffle the power of the Commons to obtain the removal of publick servants by address.—*Parl. Hist.*

to seek them. And yet, embroiled as the King's cause had now been by the petulance of Digby, and the ferocity of Lunsford, he had not firmness enough to disembarass himself of their fatal presence and advice. They pushed their dangerous course to still further extremities. They appeared openly in arms against the Parliament; yet were they not disclaimed or rebuked by Charles. They put themselves at the head of a small turbulent body of some two or three hundred men, at Kingston-on-Thames, avowing a wild and impracticable scheme for investing the metropolis, and cutting off the supplies*. A proclamation was instantly issued against them by both Houses. The train bands of the midland counties were ordered to march; again the county of Buckingham offered to raise troops to defend the Parliament; and again it received the thanks of Parliament through its representatives; and a committee

* Clarendon states this transaction very untruly, representing it as if Digby had come alone to Kingston from Hampton Court in a coach and six, whereas the evidence shews, that he and Lunsford were there with three troops of horse, making proclamation for recruits, and thanking in the King's name those who joined them.

of public safety was formed, of which Hampden was a member. From this time forward a struggle was inevitable. Bodies of troops appeared, in divers parts, for the King. The Marquis of Newcastle, not long after, raised the people of the north, and, in the beginning of the spring, coined money, under royal warrant, to pay his levies*.

On the other hand, the Houses, on a report presented by Sir Harry Vane, passed a vote to put the kingdom in a posture of defence†; and Goring, at Portsmouth, and Sir John Hotham, at Hull, were directed, by ordinance, to hold those magazines ‘for King and Parliament,’ and to surrender their trust to none but under the same authority.

The votes, too, relating to the civil affairs of the state, assumed daily a more decisive aspect. Former resolutions became declarations and ordinances; and the bill for taking away the Bishops’ votes was resumed, and passed into a law, receiving, (at the instance of the Queen, says Clarendon,) the Royal assent, when it was too late for even that great

* Marchioness of Newcastle’s Memoirs.

† Commons’ Journal, January 25.

concession to be made with grace, or received with any more than a cold and formal acknowledgement.

But the period from which the Parliament dated the commencement of hostilities by the King, was that of the Queen's departure for Holland. Her pretext was to accompany her daughter the Princess of Orange; her object was to procure supplies, and negotiate for the aid of foreign regiments. And she carried with her a large part of the Crown jewels to pledge for a loan of money*. Here, again, Digby was the evil genius that worked mischief to the fortunes of the King and Queen. It was in a letter of his that the full discovery of this negociation was made. Whether or no it was his rashness that counselled this correspondence is doubtful, but it was his incaution that betrayed it.

From Dover, her place of embarkation, Charles repaired to Greenwich, and from thence, with Lord Hertford and his two sons, and a train of some forty or fifty gentlemen, and a troop of horse, he began his journey to

* Clarendon—Hist. Reb. Heath's Chron.

York. Thither he went to secure the magazine of Hull, and to put himself at the head of Newcastle's levies. This province presented to him great and commanding advantages. It was powerful for the raising of troops; it was fertile in the means for supporting them; its distance from London gave time for completing his preparations unmolested; the local interests and feelings of its inhabitants were distinct from those of the Londoners and of the people of the midland counties. Besides all this, the influence of the Cavendishes and Wentworths, backed by that of Lord Derby, in Lancashire, gave him vast support; and Hyde himself had obtained a large share of popularity with the gentry and middle classes, by his successful efforts in the abolition of that odious and oppressive tyranny the Presidency of the North. This journey, says Sir Philip Warwick, the King never could have performed, but that 'the Houses thought it would conduce more to their victory to fetch him back in triumph than to stop him in the way.' Surely, the Houses had a stronger, and much more obvious motive. Conscious that the crisis which

must bring against them a force raised in his name was now near at hand, conscious that a main part of the strength of their own cause depended on their being able to maintain in publick the profession they had so often made, that no shew of violence should be offered against his person, it was matter with them equally of principle and indubitable policy, that the first aggressive act should be allowed to proceed from him.

Nor was it long before he gave them the opportunity which they awaited. His first movement towards ascertaining the firmness of the Parliament's officers to fulfil their trust, and of the Parliament itself to maintain it's ground, was the summoning of Hull. Besides it's containing all the arms, ammunition, and artillery of the disbanded army of the north, Hull was of great importance to Charles, as affording a place of shelter and support to any force which he might collect; and it commanded the entrance of the Humber, where, as it afterwards appeared, the King's intention was to collect a fleet of war, and receive the supplies thrown in from Denmark and from Holland. The young Duke of

York and Prince Rupert, who were upon a visit to Sir John Hotham, were dining with him when he received intelligence of the King being, with a body of three hundred horse, in full march upon the city *. Hotham had barely time to see the drawbridges up before Charles appeared at the Beverley Gate, and demanded admittance for himself and his followers. With protestations of all humility, Hotham on his knees offered to receive his Majesty and his household, but refused to admit a military force to occupy the city with which he had been entrusted. The King's determination thus to present himself under the walls without any previous communication with the Governor, or knowledge of his probable intentions, was rash and ill advised. It was, as in the attempt to arrest the five members, a deliberate risk of ungraceful discomfiture, strange in a person possessed of so high a sense of dignity as Charles. Moreover, the failure of this demand, which he might at least with more propriety have deputed to another to make in his behalf, threw him at

* Heath's Chronicle.

once on the necessity of proclaiming Hotham a traitor, and on making, shortly after, a feeble and ineffectual attempt to enter by force, with three thousand foot and one thousand horse, which led to an unsuccessful siege of some days, by sea and land, and cost many lives *. Thus he gave notice of war when he had not a garrisoned town, no regular army in the field, small store of ammunition, few ships, and little money to supply any of these wants; while the Parliament had all the public revenue and magazines of the country in their hands.

Which of the two parties began the Civil War has always since been matter of strenuous dispute. It is incapable of being satisfactorily determined; nor in truth is it of the least importance to the justification of either. The one class of writers insist on the Ordinance for the Militia, which preceded the Commissions of Array, as having been a levying of war by the Parliament. The other, with as much truth, impute to the King his negotiations with foreign powers for

* Viccars—Parliamentary Chronicle.

aid, his attempt upon Hull, his commission to Newcastle, and his declaration from York, which may be said to have put him in the field before the Parliament, as having been a beginning of the war on his part. The preparations on each side went on together, and the approaches of the war were so gradual, (but after a certain time so rapid,) that it must remain with historians to adopt whichever of these acts it may suit their fancies or passions to assign as the point from which to date the actual commencement of hostilities;—a point which, when determined, decides nothing with respect to the moral argument either way. In truth, the war had been for some time determined on by both parties, and (on whichever side the better justification lies) it is rather matter of surprise that it was deferred so long.

Charles now pursued, with the utmost activity, the course which he had begun in Yorkshire,—availing himself of the interest and zeal of his friends, not only in the districts well affected to his cause, but in some, also, where the Parliament had its main strength. Worstcd in his first summons of Hull;

he returned to York ; but, on his way, a large body of gentry met him at Beverley, with a tender of their utmost services, and accompanied him to the metropolis of their province. At York he summoned the country round, and issued his first Commission of Array. It was a few days after, that both Houses voted that ‘ It appears that the King, seduced by wicked counsel, intends to make war against the Parliament ; that, whensoever the King maketh war upon the Parliament it is a high breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to the dissolution of the Government ; and that whosoever shall serve or assist him in such wars are traitors by the fundamental laws of this Kingdom*.’ Next day, they sent him a petition praying him to disband his forces. On the 1st of June, (the same day that the Commission of Array was published by the Commissioners through Yorkshire,) were voted the nineteen propositions to the King†. These, it is clear, though put forth in expressions of the humblest duty to the

* Commons’ Journals, May 20.

† Ibid., June 1.

King's person, and breathing the most urgent desire of peace, were not propounded with any hope of being able to engage the royal assent, or prevent the evils they deprecate; but rather as a manifestation of the terms on which the two Houses were anxious to rest their justification in the struggle which was then to begin.

They urge upon the King to make the appointment of his great officers of state, his principal ministers, and the commanders of his guards and garrisons, subject to the approbation of the two Houses;—the taking away of the votes of the Popish Lords, who, indeed, had long been found as a party in the Upper House, supporting all the most unreasonable claims of prerogative, and, in many cases of privilege, going near to put the Houses in conflict with each other;—the reformation of Church government;—the settlement of the militia in Commissioners approved by the Parliament;—the swearing of the Privy Councillors and Judges to maintain the Petition of Right, and all other statutes hereafter to be made;—that all public officers shall hold their places *quamdiu bene se gesserint*;

—that the King shall disband his newly-raised levies ;—that Lord Kimbolton and the five members shall be cleared by statute ; and that no peer hereafter to be made shall sit without consent of Parliament. Large, doubtless, and before unheard-of, claims of power, and described by the King, in his answer, as ‘ a ‘ profession of peace which, joined to such ‘ propositions, did appear a mockery and a ‘ scorn.’ Yet it is hard to say that to make the choice of the publick servants of the state subject to the consent of Parliament, (which, in truth, was the point which the King rejected as contrary to the essentials of the English Constitution,) was, under all the circumstances of outrage which had occurred, a much more violent power than that which, according to the Constitution in happier times, Parliaments possess, as of unquestionable right and practice, to secure the removal of them by impeachment or address*.

The King now put forth the famous declara-

* Sir Philip Warwick gives a somewhat unfair appearance to the nineteen propositions, by putting them forth in his *Memoirs* as if they had preceded the drawing up of the King's first Commission of Array, and his summoning of Hull ; when, in fact, they followed, and may be truly said to have been in consequence of, these acts.

tion of his cause; on which the Peers and principal gentry who had joined him made an engagement for the defence of the King, and against obedience to any ordinance concerning the militia that hath not the royal assent. It was subscribed by the Lord Keeper, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford; the Earls of Lindsey, Cumberland, Huntingdon, Bath, Southampton, Dorset, Salisbury, Northampton, Devonshire, Bristol, Westmoreland, Berkshire, Monmouth, Rivers, Newcastle, Dover, Carnarvon, and Newport; the Lords Mowbray and Maltravers, Willoughby of Eresby, Rich, Charles Howard, Newark, Paget, Chandoy, Falconbridge, Poulett, Lovelace, Coventry, Dunsmore, Seymour, Gray of Ruthen, and Falkland; the Comptroller, Secretary Nicholas, Sir John Culpeper, the Lord Chief Justice Banks, and a number of gentry.

The Lord Keeper Littleton, too, on the requisition of the King, sent the Great Seal of England to York, and the next day followed it himself. Lord Salisbury's course cannot easily be accounted for. Within a few days after he had signed the engagement, he

left the King, and escaped back to London *. His motive for thus deserting his pledged faith does not appear: his baseness only is clear. Lord Paget, appointed by the Parliament Lord Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, had fled from his county to the King, about the first week in June. Mr. Tyrill, one of his Deputy-Lieutenants, in a letter, dated Inner Temple, June 15, to his son-in-law, Mr. Richard Grenvil, of Wotton, then High Sheriff, says—‘ I
‘ suppose you heare of y^e flight of yo^r cosen
‘ the Lord Lieutenant, whoe is gone for
‘ Yorke, wth the Lord Bristoll; y^e Lord Fawk-
‘ land and Sir John Culpeper are gone
‘ alsoe; and nowe all their intelligences
‘ beinge gone, it is to be thought some sud-
‘ dayne storme will falle upon y^e kingdome;
‘ y^e citizens bringe in their mony and plate
‘ roundly, accordinge to y^e expositions. Not-
‘ withstandinge y^e Lord Lieutenant is gone,
‘ y^e meeting holds at Aylesbury on Friday;
‘ the deputies are armed wth y^e power of his
‘ Lo^p, by a newe order of Parliament†.’ His flight was caused by the almost unanimous

* Warwick's Memoirs. Whitelocke.

† Mr. Richard Grenvil's Papers, at Stowe.

determination of the gentry of that county not to give up into his hands the powder which the Committee of publick safety had sent down to store at Aylesbury. At the meeting on that Friday were assembled the whole lieutenancy of the county, thirty-two in number, with the Lord Wharton, who was shortly after invested with the office of Lord Lieutenant, by ordinance. They were appointed to collect the money of the county, and vest it in the hands of a treasurer, to levy and train the militia, to form a garrison at Aylesbury, and manage generally the publick affairs of the district*.

The King, meanwhile, had proceeded southward. He fixed his head-quarters at Nottingham, the largest town near the borders of that division of England where the Parliament interest was the strongest, and through which he knew that he must pass, as through

* For a list of the Deputy Lieutenants of Buckinghamshire, see Appendix C. It is curious to those who know that county well, and take interest in it, to observe from that return how many of the families of the first gentry in it have become extinct, while several of the names in the list are now to be found among the yeomen and farmers residing where the manor-houses of their ancestors stood.

an enemy's country, by force. Here it was that, on the 22nd of August, with great pomp, he raised and planted his royal standard, inviting the people of the country round to join it. Many slight encounters had already taken place. The Parliament had several regiments in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, and Prince Rupert had pushed forward with a strong body of horse to Leicester; the Earl of Newcastle was moving with about five thousand men to the eastward, and the advanced posts had met and skirmished. But now the war began*.

By such as had looked forward through passing events to consequences, an appeal to arms must for a long time have been deemed unavoidable. Yet, to most, even of those who took part in the preparations and watched their progress, the Great Civil War came at last

* For Charles's final and eloquent proclamation announcing his intention to raise the standard, see Appendix D. It is a singular circumstance that Clarendon, who must have been present at that memorable ceremony, states it to have occurred on the 25th, whereas the proclamation itself dates it three days before. This is the more remarkable, as this misstatement of dates is calculated to lead to an inference that the Parliament's order to Lord Essex to take command of the army preceded this act of the King's; whereas it was voted on the 24th, when the news had reached London of the standard being actually raised.

as matter of surprise. Many, of both parties, who had fanned the hidden and infant spark into life, saw with dismay the flames as they burst forth from either side, soon to meet in one general and mingling blaze. Thus it must ever be in civil war. By most men, however long it has threatened in its approach, it is not seen to be imminent until it is upon them; nor can it be comprehended in all its dreadful particulars until they are to be dealt with face to face. The images of extreme and unnatural strife, so often pictured by the poet,—brother battling against brother,—the arm of the son raised against the parent,—are not among those which the most commonly present themselves to afflict society in civil war. But it is, that many of those ties of habit and affection which bind men the most closely to life are loosened;—severed by publick enmity, or, what is less tolerable still than publick enmity, suspicion and distrust. These are unhappinesses which, in civil war, may be the lot even of those whose condition leads them into the dispute only as the attached and obedient followers of the standard raised by some neighbouring in-

fluence, and among whom the connexions of friendship and of kindred are, generally, the least liable to be disturbed. But with those on whom their station imposes loftier callings, and who are answerable in the highest degree for the course which they assign to themselves and others, much more fearful are the trials which must hourly occur;—duties in conflict,—every private affection opposed to every publick obligation,—and every plea, the strongest, for sympathy and protection, which cannot be answered.

Even things inanimate, which appeal to remembrance only, crowd in with their numberless associations, to tell us how unnatural a state of man is civil war. The village street barricaded;—the house deserted by all it's social charities,—perhaps occupied as the stronghold of a foe;—the church where lie our parents' bones become a battery of cannon, an hospital for wounded, a stable for horses, or a keep for captives;—the accustomed paths of our early youth beset with open menace or hidden danger;—it's fields made foul with carnage;—and the impreca-

tions of furious hate, or the supplications of mortal agony, coming to us in our own language, haply in the very dialect of our peculiar province ;—these are among the familiar and frequent griefs of civil war.

The family of Hampden did not escape those divisions which so unhappily distracted some of the noble houses at this time. Mr. Alexander Hampden had not only formed opinions which separated him entirely from his illustrious kinsman, but, about a year after the commencement of the war, he gave testimony of them by an act dishonouring to the name and station which he bore. He engaged himself in Edmund Waller's plot ; two first cousins of John Hampden thus joining in a conspiracy against the persons of the principal Members of the Parliament, which, if not originally a scheme of assassination, was one which could have succeeded only by bloodshed, and for which two of the subordinate agents justly suffered an ignominious death. The first year of the Civil War, grievous in so many ways for publick considerations to Hampden, was a time also of

great domestick affliction to him. Soon after the outbreak his eldest son died. But the severest blow was the loss of his favourite and beloved daughter, Mrs. Knightley. This was a sad visitation, the memory of which hung gloomily over his spirit during the short remainder of his life*.

It will not be improper here to direct our attention to the system by which Hampden's conduct from this period seems to have been governed. From the time of Charles's violent entry into the House of Commons, Hampden's carriage in publick, which, we are told by Clarendon and others, had been ever marked by modesty and mildness, 'became fiercer; 'and he threw away the scabbard when he 'drew the sword.' Mr. Guthrie, a fair and candid writer, says that 'if Hampden, in any 'part of his great plan, fell short of his usual 'sagacity, it was in thinking Charles to be 'more weak and wicked than he really was.' Perhaps this observation may have proceeded from a rather inconsiderate acquiescence in the hasty conclusion that at such a crisis the most active and severest course of conduct

* Sir Philip Warwick,

necessarily betokens the most inveterate and irreconcilable feelings. The contrary is often the case ; and an attentive consideration makes it probable that it was so with Hampden. It is true, that henceforward we shall always find him foremost to urge the strongest and most decisive measures. To believe that he, whom all agree in accounting the most sagacious and considerate of his party, was changed, in an hour of resentment, to be the most intemperate and impracticable, would be a supposition at variance with all moral probability. This personal antipathy to Charles does not appear ; nor, if it did, could it afford the just solution of his change of demeanour now. One more probable may be found in some remarkable passages of what remains of his history. It is sufficient, for the present, to bespeak attention to this fact, that, in the execution of a great plan to which the mind has with difficulty reconciled itself, the fiercest and most decisive course is perfectly in unison with the soberest motives, and may often be the wisest way of accomplishing the most moderate ends. Lord Clarendon says of Falkland that he was ‘one of those who believed that

‘one great battle would end all differences.’ Others there were who resolutely ventured all for themselves and for the country, without laying down in their own minds any definite term to the war, or probable occasion for a treaty. Thus, as was afterwards said, ‘a summer’s triumph proved but a winter’s story; and the game, however it seemed won in autumn, was to be played over again in the spring*.’

But, as, of all the King’s advisers, Lord Falkland was the most reluctant to begin the contest, and the most anxiously thirsting for any probable overtures of a lasting peace, so, among the parliamentary leaders, till the disputes had risen so high as to preclude mediation, Hampden’s conduct had been the most conciliatory, the most ‘publick minded,’ and the least influenced by animosity or passion. But, from the taking up of arms, as Lord Falkland was, thenceforward, of those on the King’s side, the most in favour of bold and rapid enterprises, so was Hampden, in the Council of War and Committee, of Publick

* See Rush. vi., pp. 3, 4.

Safety ; and, as he was the first to see how impracticable was the hope of accommodation till grounded upon some decisive advantage, so was he unremitting to push for that advantage, and to urge upon his tardier chiefs and compeers such undertakings as might shorten the conflict, and hasten on the treaty. Thus, if it had come to pass that fortune had plainly declared for the King's side, Falkland would have been the fittest of his counsellors to restrain his demands within such bounds as a conqueror might be persuaded to respect ; and, if the event had been favourable to the Parliament's cause, Hampden would have had the best means of controuling that party in success within or near those limits of privilege beyond which they had not proceeded until it became at least questionable whether they could any longer defend privilege without invading prerogative. In the wisdom and influence of these two men lay the best hope of such a settlement, which, to be permanent, must have been matter of compromise, and which, to become matter of compromise, must have been founded upon great power of dictation placed in prudent

hands like theirs. But of this more hereafter.

In was under the woody brows of his own beauteous Chilterns that Hampden first published the ordinance to marshal the militia of his native county. The parishes and hundreds, often with their preachers at the head, mustered at their market-houses to march forth to training. In the dearth of all the ordinary implements of war, arms and accoutrements of the most grotesque fashion now left the walls where, from the times of the civil wars of the two Roses, they had hung as hereditary trophies in the manor-houses, the churches, and the cottages of the yeomen. In the returns of arms, particularly of the levies of the northern parts, at the first outbreak, the long-bow, the brown bill, and the cross-bow, resumed their place among the equipments of a man-at-arms*. It was not till some months after, when the stores of Hull, and Newcastle, and Plymouth, and of the Tower of London, were distributed, that the match-lock and pistol found their way into the hands of the 'ordered

* Mr. R. Grenvil's Returns.

' musqueteers and dragoons' in the country parts ; and, even to the end of the civil wars, large bodies of men, besides the regular pikemen, were furnished only with rude lances ; and, on the King's part, many thousands, particularly of the Welshmen, went to the battle with staves and Danish clubs.

The conflicts which arose out of the meetings of parties, acting under warrant to raise troops, and collect the other materials of war, gradually assumed the character of military skirmishes ; and the towns, the high roads, and woods, through which the supplies had to pass, became daily, and in almost all parts of England, the scenes of encounters more or less obstinate and bloody. By degrees, as these parties grew larger in their numbers, and more confident in their strength, they issued out from the fortified towns to try their arms and spirit against bodies which they knew to be collecting in the neighbourhood, and to drive in cattle for the magazines which, in all parts, were in progress of being formed. As the summer advanced, the corn, still green, was reaped by working parties on each side, whether to swell with its unripe

produce their own guarded granaries, or, as was oftener the case, for forage for their horses, or, oftenest, in order to take it from the reach of their enemies. This course had also the effect, in the neighbourhood of the cities, of obliging the country people to follow their food, and thus of enlisting themselves and increasing the garrisons.

The history of these wars, as they proceeded, casts a peculiar interest on places, the names of which, as connected with the events of later times, carry with them no very lofty recollections. Even the small scale on which, throughout the civil wars, operations, insignificant in themselves but mighty in their consequences, were carried on, gives, at first hearing, a homely and contracted sound to the story of the contest. Thus, some men have made it matter of complaint, while traversing the plains and passes of Greece, that they have found that land, which has been made immortal by the warrior's sword, by the poet's song, by the gown of the orator the statesman and the philosopher, confined within such petty limits as those between the Egean Sea and the mountain boundary of her States.

But this is an ill considered feeling. What can more sustain the glory of that famous history than the reflection, how narrow the space in which the spirit of freedom made good for ages her cause against the world?—No trifling cause of admiration, that the powerful lessons of liberty have sprung up into ripeness, and been reaped, and stored up, even by other nations, from a germ like that of the Grecian Republics, or the Commonwealth of England. He who contemplates, without emotion, the victorious progress of mighty empires, may yet feel some enthusiasm when, standing in a rocky pass dark with pine and plane trees, or on a small sandy plain broken only by a few rude and shapeless hillocks, he is told,— ‘ Here Grecian freedom bled, to die, but not ‘ to be subdued,—this is Thermopylæ ;—here ‘ she triumphed,—you are among the graves ‘ of Marathon.’ Then, though but the ploughman be seen on Chalgrove now,—though the names of Birmingham, and Coventry, and Gloucester, be no more known but by the peaceful contests of busy trade, with all its powers and all its enterprise, — though a few hours of journey suffice to carry us from

the opening to the concluding scene,—from Oxford where Charles held his court, to where last he grappled with his subjects at Naseby,—we may acknowledge, in even these names of familiar sound, the feelings which must ever attach themselves to places made memorable by bold endeavour or great achievement, by the acts, or by the fall, of men who have contributed to the fame of their native land.

Once aroused to the fearful necessity of taking arms, and of using them, the principal leaders of the Puritans were rapid, resolute, and unwearied, in all the various business of the approaching war. They had matured their secret and sturdy plan, and now worked with an energy which at first was wanting among the greater part of the adherents to the Royalist cause. They had added to their rigid morals a noble and simple vigour;—‘ They had put on,’ says Sidney, ‘ the athletic habit of liberty for the contest ;’—they had made the laws of God the study of their lives ;—they found them often in conflict with those of their rulers ;—they made their choice, and solemnly appealed to the issue of battle,

as men who thoroughly believed themselves
especially designed

‘ To some great work, His glory,
And people’s safety*.—

And many, who before had looked with doubt
and fear upon the very name of liberty, now
made proclamation of it with their lips, in-
scribed it, and ‘ God with Us,’ upon their
banners to challenge lawless prerogative ;
and, having drawn their swords in it’s behalf,
sheathed them not untill they had made what
long had been a bye-word and a grievous jest,
their leading cry to victory.

* Samson Agonistes.

PART THE EIGHTH.

1642.

Posture of the two parties—Their motives and objects—Falkland, and others who take part for the King—Sir Bevill Grenvil—His letter to Sir John Trelawney—Formation of the Parliament Armies—Loans, and Contributions of Money and Plate—The Fleet declares for the Parliament—King's conditions from Nottingham rejected—Hampden captures the King's Oxfordshire Commissioners at Ascot—Conflicts in divers parts—Siege and surrender of Portsmouth—Coventry and Northampton attacked by the King's troops—Lord Brook—Brook and Hampden repulse the King's troops at Southam—Conditions of submission proposed to Lord Brook before Warwick—His Answer—He assembles his levies, and harangues his officers, at Warwick Castle.

PART THE EIGHTH.

1642.

AT the time of raising the standard, the King's affairs wore but a discouraging aspect; and they continued to do so for some weeks after. He had been led into too sanguine a calculation both of his actual strength and of the rapidity with which it might be increased. His standard floated over the rising ground on which it had been planted, daily and nightly guarded, and graced with all the ceremony and splendour befitting so majestic a symbol of war; the royal pavilion and the tents of the nobles and the gentry were pitched around it, and the household and body-guard formed a brave encampment in the rear; each morning, soon after sunrise, the heralds assembled, by sound of trumpet, at its foot, and then dispersed them-

selves through the towns and country adjacent, making proclamation and summons in the King's name. Bands of military musick played throughout the day, and in the course of it the King himself frequently appeared. But the people of the country did not flock in from around to enlist themselves in the cause ;—and even the spectacle soon ceased to attract. In truth, the King had not husbanded wisely his means of display. He had been too much seen among the ordinary and not very popular preparations for the war ; and, above all, he had taken the field, and unsuccessfully, before he raised his standard. He had at that time not above three or four hundred regular troops with him in and about Nottingham. It is true that he knew the greater part of the gentry of England to be in his favour ;—true also that he knew how great an advantage he possessed in having the choice of his own time, and of his own terms too, for beginning the war. For still the Parliament could not, with any shew of regard to its own repeated declarations, nor consistently with what was still its undoubted policy, make any hostile movement

in advance of him. He was also at liberty to hold a much more unreserved and decisive tone than they. His published statements were more calculated to address themselves to the feelings of all classes : they abounded in topicks to be dealt with much more freely than those of the Parliament ; and the language of a King, casting himself and his royal cause upon the sympathies of his people, had a charm which did not belong to the colder reasonings of the opposing party. The Parliament were fain in their replies to use his name jointly with their own, as the sanction and vindication of their quarrel, professing ‘ that the separation of the King from the Parliament could not be without a destruction of the Government, and that the dividers were enemies to the State.’ The King had no measures to keep. In phrases more quickly intelligible, and more easily communicable through the country, he called them ‘ rebels and traitors to God and the King, who raised a hand against the ancient monarchy of the land and against the Lord’s anointed.’ The Parliament represented him as in the thralldom of a malignant faction. He pro-

tested that his acts and his cause were his own. They proposed to ‘redeem him from
‘those that took him a voluntary captive, and
‘would separate him from his Parliament;
‘they professed to fight against his will only,
‘not against his person, which they desired
‘to rescue and preserve, nor against his
‘authority, which was with them.’ The King ‘disowned their service as a scorn,
‘that they should say they fought for King
‘and Parliament when their armies were
‘ready to charge him in the field*.’

These were mighty advantages, of which Charles well knew the value, and to which he frequently and powerfully appealed. There was no class or description of his subjects to whom he did not separately apply himself, and, very generally, with success. To the unreflecting, the cause which bore the King’s name singly had a sound at once brilliant and holy; to the vain-glorious, it appeared bedecked with decorations and titles, and hopes of reward springing fresh from the fountain, so called, of honour; to the dissolute it recommended itself as con-

* Baxter’s Life.

trusted with the sway of a party, the severity of whose personal observances, and whose whole system of moral government over others, were distasteful and irksome. Besides, there were some, not a few, of those soldiers of fortune, whose experience in the art of war was brought to market, and considered of high value in a country inexperienced in that science, to whom the Cavaliers' side shewed in prospect more occasions of preferment and of plunder. London herself, with all her spoil, was in view.

The gaiety,—the splendour,—the inlaid armour,—the braided love-lock,—the glittering badge of a sovereign's, or, more precious still, of a court lady's, favour,—dazzled the eyes and warmed the fancies of the young; the venerable sacredness of antique institutions, the hazardous indistinctness of new, and a proneness to seek shelter under the edifice of power even after its foundations had been shaken, fixed the hearts of the old: while, to the gentry and the nobles, the lofty associations of chivalry, and the generous recollections of hereditary and personal fealty, gave a powerful bias in a quarrel where

neutrality was seldom practicable, and never honourable. These were interests and passions likely all to lead men to the party of the King. Meanwhile, publick principle and a sense of duty may be admitted to have equally guided both ways in this great dispute; and doubtless on both sides these influences had equal power. So long as subsidies,—so long as quarterings of troops,—so long as Bishops' tyrannies and Popish innovations,—so long as outrages on the privileges of the Parliament and the liberties of the people, were uppermost in men's minds,—while grievances met their eyes at every turn, and the alternative of resistance was only contemplated distantly and in principle, the popular voice was loud against the King; but, loud in its outcry against the grievance, the popular voice must not always be expected to be equally firm in support of the remedy, when the time for applying the remedy has arrived. The Londoners and the counties had, with a wonderful accordance of feeling, acknowledged that their liberties were inseparably involved in the independence of Parliament.

They had gone along with Parliament, not only in the grand remonstrance, but even in its claim upon the power over the militia, and confessed it to be founded purely and simply on the necessity of self-defence. Even the King's standard displayed at Nottingham at first failed as a talisman on the minds of the people. As yet, they had seen only preparations for hostilities which they thought the King had provoked, and had been weak enough to suppose that mere preparations and a display of power on the other side might produce concessions and give security. sanguine in their hopes of avoiding the extremity of war, they had still to learn that, until forced by defeat, it is not in the nature of a King who has been nursed in notions of divine right to treat in good faith with a once revolted people, or of a once revolted people to have any confidence in the good faith of a King. But when the menace ceased, and its accomplishment arrived, resolutions began to waver and to change.

It is said by a court writer, after the Restoration, that Sir Benjamin Rudyard, who died about this time, declared on his death-

bed that Pym and Hampden told him ‘that they thought the King so ill-beloved by his subjects, that he could never be able to raise an army to oppose them*.’ If this be believed, it needs not to be remarked in what an error Pym and Hampden had indulged themselves. But it is not very like truth. The difficulties which both had met with during their unremitting exertions to execute the ordinances for the militia, and to hinder the success of the commission of array, must, to men of their sagacity, have sooner brought conviction of their error. It is however certain that the party generally, confident in their own strength, and hoping to the last that a protracted civil war might be avoided, very much underrated the influence of the royalist spirit.

Many who had, through danger and disrepute, proved themselves friends of liberty, and whose names, so long as the memory of good men is safe, are a sufficient answer to any scandal on their motives, now took arms for the King. They had opposed prerogative when liberty was oppressed and in peril;

* See Brief Chron. of the Civil Wars.

they offered themselves to support what they conceived to be the essentials of monarchy, when the Parliament Leaders began to feel their power, and to be the rulers of the state. At a crisis of this sort, decisive as each man's conduct must be on his own fortunes, and, perhaps, on those too of his country, and fierce as is the conflict on which he is entering, it is with reflecting persons generally the result of the most nicely balanced considerations. One who, at the first out-break of civil dissensions, can take his part without hesitation, must generally take it without any very grave or fixed view of the principles which have governed his decision. There never yet was a civil war in which either side had a clear case of unqualified right against a clear case of unmitigated wrong. It is the wisely moderate and the scrupulously good who have usually the greatest difficulty in deciding for themselves. It is they therefore who have the greatest risk to run of differing from each other in their decisions. And if this were remembered in reviewing the conduct of men and parties in difficult times, there would be more

charity and more truth in the conclusions both of those who act in publick affairs, and of those who write about them.

At the head of those who,—friends of liberty,—when the contest became irreconcilable between King and people took part, for the sake of the monarchy, with the King, and who, having taken that part, clove to it with eagerness and fidelity,—at the head of these Lord Falkland may not improperly be placed. On the motives of his conduct, at a crisis to him of such unhappiness, there seems to be no stain, nor is there any cause assigned for his change of parties, at the time and in the manner in which it happened, that can be a dishonour to his memory. It was not, like Culpeper's, to be suspected of having arisen from any appetite for office; for dates and facts shew that he abstained from serving the King in place, until he ran the risk, by further refusal, of encouraging a supposition that he declined to render himself answerable for the advice he gave. And then he eagerly embraced the office for the sake of the responsibility it imposed. It was not, like Hyde's, mixed up

with any jealousies or resentments ; for he long resisted the persuasions of Hyde to think ill of the intentions of those against whose acts he thought it necessary to protest. Least of all was it from a spirit of intrigue, or of self-advancement by unworthy artifices, such as suited the minds and morals of many factious men ; for we have other testimony corroborative of that of Clarendon, that the scrupulous virtue of Falkland forbade him generally from recurring to such means of information or assistance as could not be given without violation of morality and honour*. Indeed we may well believe his friend's eloquent tribute to be but little exaggerated and that it was but the truth to say that he took more pains to avoid office than most men

* The only exception I can find is in the correspondence, which he conducted for the King, with the conspirators in Waller's plot. It would be most unjust to impeach the honour of a publick man, because, in the furtherance of a great cause, he may be obliged, on occasions, to accept the services of unworthy agents. Nor does this cast any blame on Falkland. But Clarendon was not justified, with all that he must have known of the missions of Sir Alexander Hampden and of the Lady Aubigny, in saying that Falkland 'could never bring himself to give any countenance or entertainment' to such as, 'by communication of guilt or dissimulation of manners, wind themselves into such trusts and secrets as enable them to make discoveries.'

do to gain it; and that he used no means to persuade the King to bestow office upon him, but deserving it.

Unqualified and unsuspected praise may also be given to some others who followed in his course : high-minded and steady friends of liberty, who yet, to use the metaphor of one of them, ‘ had they seen the Crown of ‘ England on a hedge stake,’ would have remained with it to the death to defend it. Among these we may fairly class Lord Hertford, Lord Dunsmore, Lord Capel, Lord Paget, and Sir Ralph Hopton. Of others, who subscribed high and honourable names to the Declaration which was drawn out under the shadow of the King’s standard, such as Newcastle, Paulet, Northampton, Derby, and Lindsey, the first of whom was appointed General of the King’s Northern Army, and the last, Lieutenant General in Chief of the forces which he himself commanded in person, little need be said but that, from the beginning, and to the utmost extent, supporters of the policy of the King, they were bold, uncompromising, and faithful, in his need. Some there were, on that side, such

as Saville and Salisbury, and some who began by taking the field with the parliamentary party, such as Goring, Clare, Northumberland, Holland (and, unhappily we must add, afterwards, Bedford too), who changed more than once in the course of the war, concerning whom the less enquiry is made with reference to the purity of their apparent motives the more charitably will their memories be dealt with. Such there must be at all times, who, to the great damage of publick liberty, join the popular cause on account of private disgusts, of personal expectations, or for the sake of becoming important, in the only way open to them, by tampering alternately with both parties.

Sir Edmund Verney was appointed Standard-bearer to the King. He had no taste for courts, had ever sided with the country party in Parliament, and not only felt, but expressed, doubts of the justice of the cause on which he was entering*. He stated, as his sole motive, a soldier-like reason, shewing more anxiety not to do wrong than

* Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs—Clarendon, Life.

reflection to guide him in doing right,—of the sincerity of which, however, from the hour when he reluctantly raised the standard to that at which he bravely died defending it, there is no ground of doubt. He said ‘he had eaten the King’s bread,’ and was therefore bound to his service in personal honour; otherwise, he disapproved of the cause in which he was engaged* : a sentiment, fit only for a feudal vassal, which had carelessly been allowed a place in the heart of a high-minded gentleman.

It was at this unpromising period of the King’s affairs that the brave Sir Bevill Grenvil declared himself in the field, and, in a moment of general doubt and dismay, first published the commission of array and raised troops and occupied a line of posts in the West. In his native county of Cornwall, which he had long represented in Parliament, he took his part, as one who, having weighed and resolved with caution, was now ready to act with determination and effect. There was no man who had more faithfully done his duty in the House of Commons

* Clarendon—*Life*. Ludlow’s *Memoirs*.

against the arbitrary measures of the King. He had early associated himself with the reformers of abuses, and, personally and politically attached to Sir John Eliot, had joined in the remonstrances upon his commitment. In one of his letters to his wife, his 'best friend the Lady Grace Grenvil,' many of which give so amiable a view of his private virtues and gentleness of disposition, he speaks of Eliot as being 'resolved 'to have him out of his imprisonment.' He had also, much later, put himself at the head of a local opposition to the ship money, and in 1640, presented to the House of Commons the petition and remonstrance of Watford and of other towns in Hertfordshire*. But Sir Bevill seems never to have contemplated the possibility of any justification in any case for a subject resisting a sovereign in arms, and to have considered the weapons of war as to be used by a good man at the bidding of his sovereign only, and then that such bidding always makes the use just and glorious. Such was his feeling even as early

* Commons' Journals.

as the first Scottish war, though undertaken by the insurgents in defence of those very principles of personal and religious liberty which he had always manfully supported in parliament. In a letter to Morice, dated Newcastle, May 13, 1639*, he says—‘ For my
‘ part, I go with joy and comfort to venture
‘ my life in as good a cause, and with as good
‘ company, as ever Englishman did ; and I do
‘ take God to witness, if I were to choose a
‘ death, it should be no other but this.’ He appears to have always indulged himself in a melancholy foreboding,—strange in so brave and fixed a mind,—of the fate which really befel him early in the civil wars. In the following letter he justifies to an affectionate and anxious friend his quitting his home, his children, and that amiable and high-minded woman by whom his strong love was so well deserved, for the purpose of entering on a service in which he was, ever after, in life and death, among the foremost. It so well lays open his pure and gallant heart, that it deserves insertion :—

* Hardwick Papers.

To Sir Jo. Trelawny.

‘ Mo. Hon. Sr,

‘ I have in many kindes had tryall of y^r
‘ noblenes, but in none more then in this sin-
‘ gular expression of y^r kind care and love.
‘ I give also y^r excell^t Lady humble thanks
‘ for respect unto my poore woman, who hath
‘ been long a faithfull much obliged servant
‘ of your Ladyes. But, Sr, for my journey, it
‘ is fixt. I cannot containe myself wthin my
‘ doores when the K^s of Eng^s standard waves
‘ in the field upon so just occasion—the cause
‘ being such as must make all those that dye
‘ in it little inferiour to martyrs. And for
‘ myne owne, I desire to acquire an honest
‘ name, or an hon^{ble} grave. I never loved my
‘ life or ease so much as to shunn such an
‘ occasion, w^{ch} if I should, I were unworthy
‘ of the profession I have held, or to succede
‘ those ances. of mine, who have, so many of
‘ them, in severall ages, sacrificed their lives
‘ for their country.

‘ Sr, the barbarous and implacable enemy,
‘ (notwithstanding His Majesty’s gracious
‘ proceedings wth them,) do continue their
‘ insolencies and rebellion in the highest

‘ degree, and are united in a body of great
‘ strength; so as you must expect, if they
‘ be not prevented and mastered neer their
‘ own homes, they will be troublesome in y^r,
‘ and in the remotest pl^s ere long.

‘ I am not wthout the consideration, (as you
‘ lovingly advise,) of my wife and family;
‘ and, as for her, I must acknowledge she
‘ hath ever drawne so evenly in her yoke
‘ with me, as she hath never prest before or
‘ hung behinde me, nor ever opposed or re-
‘ sisted my will. And yet truly I have not, in
‘ this or any thing else, endeavoured to walke
‘ in the way of power wth her, but of reason;
‘ and though her love will submit to either,
‘ yet truly my respect will not suffer me to
‘ urge her with power, unless I can convince
‘ with reason. So much for that, whereof I
‘ am willing to be accomptable unto so good
‘ a friend.

‘ I have no suite unto you in mine owne
‘ behalfe, but for y^r prayers and good wishes,
‘ and that, if I live to come home againe, you
‘ would please to continue me in the number
‘ of your servants.

‘ I shall give a true relation unto my very

‘ nob. friend Mr. Mo. (Moyle) of y^r and his
‘ aunt’s loving respects to him, which he hath
‘ good reason to be thankfull for; and so, I be-
‘ seech God to send you and your nob. family
‘ all health and happiness; and, while I live,

‘ I am, Sir,

‘ Y^r unfay. lov. and fai. serv.

‘ B. G.’*

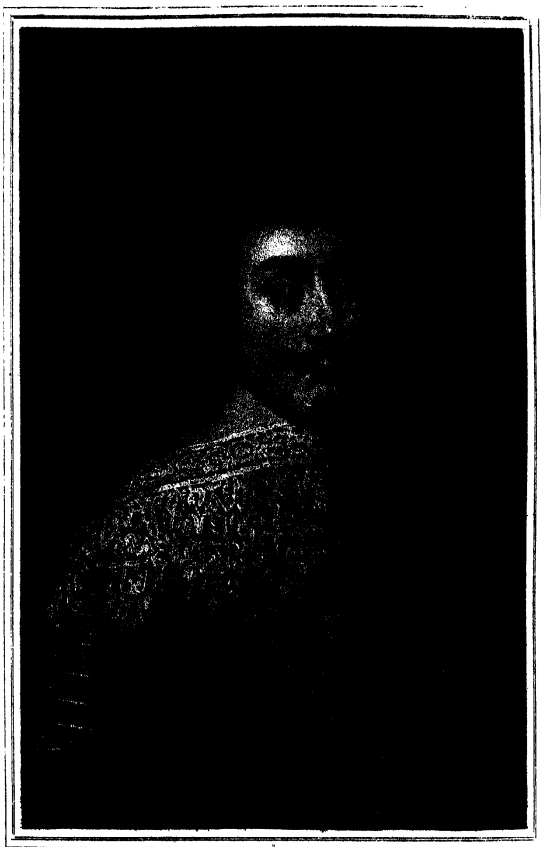
To one of the proudest spirits that ever rose up against the King in his injustice and tyranny was joined one of the most generous that ever lent him it’s aid in his need and peril. Sir Bevill had an almost romantick appetite for danger, which is sometimes apt, unknown to it’s possessor, to form a powerful quantity in the scale in which he balances his resolves at a moment like that of which we are now treating. The generosity of his nature was such as to make him, at such a time, almost suspect his own former conduct, and put himself more forward than perhaps otherwise he would have done, when any thing was to be achieved in a cause which he now thought in it’s turn to be oppressed. ‘ His’ temper

* Among Lord Carteret’s papers, discovered and lent to me by the Lord Bishop of Llandaff.

‘and affections,’ says Lord Clarendon, ‘were so publick, that no accident which happened could make any impressions in him; and his example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a word, a brighter courage and a gentler disposition were never married together, to make the most cheerful and innocent conversation*.’

The King being now actually in the field, no time was lost by the Parliament in displaying and putting into activity all the various preparations which it had already made for the war. The raising of troops, and the garrisoning and fortifying of towns proceeded with great and increasing rapidity. The new levies were formed into regiments and brigades. Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had been sent down to assist Sir John Hotham, began, but with small success, to collect a force which was destined to make head against the Marquis of Newcastle in the north. On Sir William Waller, who had the command at Exeter, devolved a like charge in the west, where Sir Ralph Hopton, Slanning, and Grenvil,

* Hist. Reb.



Engraved by A Dean.



Beville Gren

*From an original Miniature in the possession
of The Right Honorable Thomas Grenville*

occupied the greater part of the country, and some of the small sea-ports, for the King. Lord Brook in Warwickshire, Lord Say and his sons in Northamptonshire, the Earl of Bedford in Bedfordshire, Lord Kimbolton and Cromwell in Huntingdon and Cambridgeshire, and Lord Wharton Arthur Goodwyn Mr. West Mr. Bulstrode Mr. Tirrell and Mr. Richard Grenvil the High Sheriff in Buckinghamshire, Skippon and Hollis and Stapleton in Middlesex, and the Sheriffs of Essex Surrey and Berkshire in their respective counties, formed the militia reinforcements for the army which was placed under the chief direction of the Earl of Essex. This became soon the main army of the Parliament; and, in the course of less than a month after the raising of the King's standard, the parliamentary force throughout England amounted to about 25,000 men. The whole was at the disposal of the Committee of Publick Safety. The divisions were generally placed under the command of such of the chiefs as had served in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus; and a few French and German engineers were engaged to superin-

tend the fortifications and the drilling of the artillery. The brigades and single regiments were raised and led by such of the noblemen and country gentlemen as were found combining with their local influence activity courage and genius enough for military affairs to be entrusted with commands. The regiments of infantry, as their cloathing became more complete, assumed the colours of their respective leaders,—generally such as had been worn by the serving men of the families. Hollis's were the London red-coats; Lord Brook's, the purple; Hampden's, the green-coats; Lord Say's and Lord Mandeville's, the blue. The orange, which had long been the colour of Lord Essex's household, and now that of his body-guard, was worn in a scarf over the armour of all the officers of the Parliament army, as the distinguishing symbol of their cause. Each regiment also carried a small standard, or cornet, with, on one side, the device and motto of it's colonel, and, on the other, the watchword of the Parliament—'God With Us.' The Earl of Essex's bore the inscription, 'Cave, Adsum,'—words not well chosen, as,

in the course of the wars, they sometimes afforded occasion for jest among the Cavaliers, when his regiment chanced to be seen in retreat, or engaged in levying contributions, or in some such other duties which were distasteful to the parts of the country over which it was moving, and which thus gave a somewhat whimsical air to the warning. Some of these mottos were better chosen, and better justified. In the third year of the war, when the second son of the Earl of Leicester, Algernon Sidney, drew his youthful sword in that cause to which, in his old age, he gave testimony with his blood, he inscribed his standard with these words—‘*Sanctus Amor Patriæ Dat Animum.*’ The motto which was borne at the head of Hampden’s regiment marked well its leader’s publick course,—‘*Vestigia Nulla Retrorsum.*’

The infantry, on account of the scarcity of the weapons of war, during the first campaign, were variously armed, but the greater number carried matchlocks, pikes, or poleaxes. The cavalry were better appointed. The dragoon wore his steel cap and gorget, back and breast plates, with tassets descending to the

knees, and he carried his long sword, and carbine, and pistols ; and some of the horse-men were armed, like the German Cravats, with long lances. Hazelrigge's regiment of horse, from the completeness of their defensive armour, obtained the name of the Lobsters, and Cromwell's that of the Ironsides. Hampden's green regiment was composed entirely of Buckinghamshire men ; and his colleague, Arthur Goodwyn of Upper Winchenden, raised a regiment of cavalry in the same county.

It appears, from the returns of Lord Essex's army, that soon after the outbreak of the war it must have consisted of, in the whole, nearly fifteen thousand infantry, and four thousand five hundred horse. Of the former, there were twenty regiments. The Lord General's Body Guard, and the regiments of the Earl of Peterborough, the Earl of Stamford, Viscount Say, Viscount Rochford, Viscount St. John, Lord Kimbolton, Lord Brook, Lord Roberts, Lord Wharton, John Hampden, Denzil Hollis, Sir John Merrick, Sir Henry Cholmely, Sir William Constable, Sir William Fairfax, Charles Essex, Thomas Grantham, Thomas

Ballard, and William Bamfield. The cavalry were in seventy-five troops. These were all raised, as were many of the infantry regiments, at the charge of their commanders. They were the Lord General's Life Guard of Gentlemen, and the troops of the Earls of Bedford, Peterborough, and Stamford, Viscounts Say, St. John, and Fielding, Lords Brook, Wharton, Willoughby of Parham, Hastings, Grey of Groby, Sir William Balfour, Sir William Waller, Sir Arthur Hazelrigge, Sir Walter Erle, Sir Faithful Fortescue, Nathaniel Francis and John Fiennes, Oliver Cromwell, Valentine Waughton, Henry Ireton, Arthur Goodwyn, John Dalbier, Adrian Scroope, Thomas Hatcher, John Hotham, Sir Robert Pye, Sir William Wray, Sir John Saunders, John Alured, Edwyn Sandys, John and Thomas Hammond, Alexander Pym, Anthony and Henry Mildmay, James and Thomas Temple, Arthur Evelyn, Robert Vivers, Hercules Langrishe, William Pretty, James Sheffield, John Gunter, Robert and Francis Dowett, John Bird, Mathew Draper, — Dimmocke, Horatio Carey, John Neale, Edward Ayscough, John and Francis Thomp-

son, Edward Keighley, Alexander Douglas, Thomas Lydcott, John Fleming, Richard Grenvil, Thomas Tyrill, John Hale, William Balfour, George Austin, Edward Wingate, Edward Bayntun, Charles Chichester, Walter Long, Edward West, William Anselm, Robert Kirle, and Simon Rudgeley*. Sir John Merrick was, according to the military phrase then in use, Serjeant-Major-General of this army, the Earl of Peterborough General of the Ordnance, and the Earl of Bedford of the Horse.

Divers loans of money had at various times been advanced in aid of the Parliament. In these offers the City of London, and the Associated Company of Merchant Adventurers, had taken the lead as early as in January,—the former with an advance of fifty thousand, the latter of thirty thousand, pounds, and a promise of twenty thousand more for the service of Ireland †; and the City advanced an additional loan of a hundred thousand. This had been assisted by volun-

* List of the Army raised under the command of Robert, Earl of Essex, 1642.

† Commons' Journals, January 15 and 24.

tary subscriptions to a great amount throughout the country. There is, in Rushworth, a list consisting of the names of all the principal persons of the Parliamentary party, affixed to large sums subscribed for the public service, in which it appears that John Hampden advanced two sums of a thousand pounds each. These payments, however, were inadequate to the double purpose of suppressing the rebellion in Ireland, and of putting England in a posture of defence. Scotland had been applied to for a 'brotherly assistance' in the Irish affairs. Fiennes, Stapleton, and Hampden, had been appointed by Parliament to treat with her Commissioners for the transporting of two thousand five hundred men from Scotland into Ireland; and the Scots sold this assistance at the rate of sixteen thousand pounds, and the delivery of the town and castle of Carrickfergus to them in pledge*. But application was now made in vain by the Parliament to their 'brethren of Scotland' for support in the work of placing the country in a 'state of defence. The midland counties of England,

* Commons' Journals, January 25.

however, undertook with great alacrity to bear this charge. They voluntarily subscribed their money and their plate. The cities of London and Westminster were forward and liberal in their contributions. The women brought in their rings and jewels, the goldsmiths and silversmiths their stock, and the train-bands mustered daily to exercise in Moorfields, amid the acclamations of their fellow-citizens, who, to the no small annoyance of the old Serjeant-Major-General of the London army, General Skippon, crowded in to 'pledge healths and gratulations, not without prayers and thanksgivings, that the Lord had put it into the hearts of those brave defenders to stand so stoutly for his cause, and for the liberties of the land*.'

Propositions for further loans of money, at an interest of eight per cent., were now made, and for a time were freely answered. Buckinghamshire was foremost among the counties with a tender of thirty thousand pounds for the publick service, for which aid it received the thanks of Parliament through its representatives Hampden and Goodwyn. The

* City and Country Intelligencer, August 24 to 30.

arrival of supplies of troops and money to the King from the Dutch and Danes had been a main cause of alarm to the Parliament. The sea line of defence became an object of primary importance on this account, and also for cheap and easy transport of troops and stores to the remoter parts of the island.

The fleet had been entrusted to the Earl of Northumberland, as Lord High Admiral, by the Parliament, to whom his conduct had been most acceptable in the case of the army plot, in which his brother had been so deeply engaged. But Northumberland was not a man to be confided in by any party. It was not, perhaps, that he was treacherous by design; but he was naturally timid, and his high station in the country, and the overwrought estimate which he had formed of his own importance, and perhaps of his own abilities too, made him reluctant to bind himself to the fortunes of any party, and gave him a tendency to a course of trimming and intrigue, in times when no man's interest or reputation could stand but in close and faithful connexion with one of the two great parties

in the State. He had put himself, with the Navy of England, at the disposal of Parliament ; but, when called upon to join the rendezvous of the fleet, he fell sick, and retired to Alnwick. The Earl of Warwick was instantly named by ordinance to succeed him ; and the sailors and officers of the fleet, who had, ever since the business of the Ship-Money, as a body, taken part with the merchants in favour of the popular interest, saluted his flag, and, almost unanimously declaring for King and Parliament, placed themselves and their ships under his command. A large detachment instantly sailed under Warwick for the Humber.

It was now that the King, at Nottingham, made overtures of treaty, sending the Earls of Southampton and Dorset, Sir John Culpeper, and Sir William Udall, to present them to the Parliament. Clarendon admits that the King was persuaded to this by a belief that the Parliament would refuse to treat, and thereby disgust the country, and that, during the interval, he might gain time to forward his levies and other preparations ; aggravating the proofs of the insincere spirit in which

this was done, by citing the very words in which the proposal was made. ‘We assure you, nothing but our Christian and pious care to prevent the effusion of blood hath begot this motion; our provision of men, arms, and money, being such as may secure us from further violence till it pleases God to open the eyes of our people*.’ An effort of duplicity needless and superfluous; and quite without effect, since the Parliament well knew the real state of his affairs, and had had frequent experience of his unhappy habit of making such professions with a disguised and contrary intention. He stated also, in his message, his determination that nothing should be wanting on his part ‘to advance the True Protestant Religion, and confirm all just power and privileges of Parliament.’ Under these words, so often employed by him on similar occasions, it is but too evident that he always veiled a double meaning. By ‘True Protestant Religion’ it is to be shown that he reserved to himself this interpretation,—‘the ancient immunities of the Episcopal

* Hist. Reb.

‘order;’ and ‘by just power and privileges of Parliament,’ his own notions of the limits which, from the beginning of his reign, he had endeavoured unlawfully to assign to them. One of Charles’s great vices was a constant desire to gain an advantage in treaties by betraying his Parliament into acquiescing in some doubtful phrase; and one of his remarkable weaknesses was the being usually too hasty to do this successfully*. Yet Clarendon, ascribing these overtures to a mere wish to gain time, makes it matter of charge against Hampden that he persuaded the Parliament to reject them.

After two days, this answer was returned by both Houses. That they had ‘endeavoured to prevent, by several advices and petitions, the dangerous and distracted state of this kingdom, not only without success, but that there have followed those several proclamations and declarations against both the Houses of Parliament, whereby their actions are declared treasonable, and their

* Of his intention in using these ambiguous generalities there is abundant proof in his letters taken at Naseby. See ‘King’s Cabinet opened.’

‘ persons traitors ; and, thereupon, your Majesty hath set up your standard against them, whereby you have put them, and in them the whole kingdom, out of your protection. So that, untill your Majesty shall recall those proclamations and declarations, whereby the Earl of Essex and both Houses of Parliament are declared traitors or otherwise delinquents, and untill the standard set up in pursuance of the said proclamation be taken down, your Majesty hath put us into such a condition, that, while we so remain, we cannot, by the fundamental privileges of Parliament, the publick trust reposed in us, or with the general good and safety of this kingdom, give your Majesty any other answer to this message*.’

The King returned a further reply, to the end, Clarendon says, ‘ that he might make further use of their pride and passion.’ In this he offered, that if they would appoint a day for the revoking of their declarations against all persons as traitors or otherwise for assisting him, he would, on the same, recall his proclamations and declarations, and

* Collection of Remonstrances.

take down his standard; the noble historian confessing that, when he took this resolution, all means of resisting them were hopeless, and that some advised him to appear at once in London, ‘conceiving there would be more ‘likelihood for him to prevail that way than ‘by any army he was like to raise.’ Lord Falkland was received by Parliament in his place to deliver this message; but Charles, in the interval, and pending the treaty, as if to prepare ground for departing from any terms which might after be arranged, repeated, in fresh instructions to his Commissioners of Array, his proclamation of treason. Of this the Houses complained in their rejoinder; but again promised that, if his standard be taken down, and the proclamation recalled, and if he would return to his Parliament, ‘your Majesty shall find such expressions of ‘our fidelities and duties, as shall assure you ‘that your safety, honour, and greatness, can ‘only be found in the affections of your people and the sincere counsels of your Parliament.’ What hope could there be of the result of negotiations so begun and continued, while the King persisted in calling those with

whom he was treating traitors, and while they felt that they could not expect that any terms would be kept with them which were not first ensured by his placing himself entirely and unreservedly in their hands ?

At length, wearied with what they saw were only artifices to gain time, the Houses, on the 9th of September, published a declaration to the whole kingdom, and sent down again Hampden and some of their other principal officers to Northampton, to put their regiments and brigades in readiness to march.

On the same day the Earl of Essex, with great pomp, at the head of the London trainbands and the levies from the adjacent counties which had come in the night before, proceeded to join the grand army. He was accompanied for several miles along the Barnet road by the Members of both Houses, and the several guilds and companies of merchants, and greeted by the acclamations and prayers of the populace of both cities, who had poured forth to line the way as he passed.

In the midland counties the King's Commission of Array had been published only partially, and with little success; and on

several occasions the Commissioners had been taken by the country people, or by detachments of the Parliament's troops, and sent up under escort to London.

About a month before, while Hampden and Goodwyn were mustering the Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire levies on Chalgrove, information had been sent to them by White-locke that a party of gentlemen, with the Earl of Berkshire at their head, were assembling at Watlington, to make proclamation for troops in the King's name under the Commission of Array. With that quick spirit of decision which so strongly marked his character on so many greater occasions, Hampden seized the opportunity, and, without dissolving the meeting on Chalgrove, departed with a troop of Goodwyn's horse, and a company of his own regiment, for Watlington; but the Commissioners, hearing of the muster at Chalgrove, had hastened, with the soldiers whom they had brought down with them, and some who had joined them, to Sir Robert Dormer's house at Ascot, where they raised the draw-bridge on the moat, and stood upon their defence. Finding that they had been pur-

sued, and that the house was invested, they fired a few shots from within; but, the besiegers making ready for an assault, they yielded upon quarter, and the Earl, and Sir John Curzon, and three others, the principal Commissioners, were sent prisoners to London*. From thence Hampden proceeded towards Oxford, in company with Lord Say, who joined him with some forces from the neighbourhood of Banbury, and entered it, after three days' preparation for a siege, the King's party retiring into Gloucestershire. This enterprize very much discomposed and angered the Cavaliers, and delayed the progress of the array in those parts, leaving to Hampden the power of completing the business of the Buckinghamshire muster unmolested†. But more active and more urgent business soon called him in another direction.

The several Ordinances which followed each other rapidly for 'putting the kingdom in a 'posture of defence' had been, before the arrival of Essex's main army, enforced with

* Whitelocke's Memorials. — Rushworth. — Perfect Diurnal, August 15.

† Harl. MSS., Brit. Mus.

the greatest zeal in the district lying between Nottingham and London, along which it was reasonable to suppose that the King's first great enterprize would be directed. It was important for the Parliament that the counties and principal towns along this line should receive the strongest marks of it's trust,—should be inspired with confidence while declaring themselves in it's behalf,—and that they should be protected and provisioned at the least charge to themselves. It was fortunate for the Parliament, that in those counties and principal towns it's cause was, at the outset, eminently popular. Warwickshire, Bedfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, under the influence of their principal gentry, had declared themselves, almost unanimously, on that side, and were in the most diligent preparation. In Hertfordshire, also, the spirit, though divided, was generally favourable to the Parliament. In Northamptonshire alone, nearly one-half of the strength of the county inclined towards the party of the King. The interest of the Earl of Manchester, the Lord Lieutenant, was divided with that of Lord Kimbolton, his son. Lord Northampton had

great power : he was proud, active, and resolute ; but, on account of his reputation for courage and high honour, was beloved as well as powerful. He was indefatigable in thwarting the Parliamentary levies, and in proceeding with the Commission of Array ; yet the town of Northampton declared for the Parliament, and was made a place of arms. Cirencester took the same part, in spite of the influence of the Lord Chandos, who lived at Sudely Castle in great magnificence. The Mayor and principal inhabitants answered his requisition with a protestation against the illegality of any commission under the Great Seal to raise troops without consent of Parliament ; and moreover desired him to prepare himself for going up to London, under a guard of the townsmen, to answer before Parliament for the act. He fled that night and rejoined the King*.

Besides Northampton and Cirencester, Warwick, Aylesbury and St. Albans began to be strengthened with batteries, and received the magazines for the supply of the country along the two great London roads.

* Viccars's Parliamentary Chronicle.

Gradually this spirit spread itself through other parts of England, but not with the same unity of action. It had been endeavoured by both parties to secure the towns along the western coast. The Marquis of Hertford had dispatched from Sherbourne Castle a requisition to the town of Poole; but Poole had declared for the Parliament, and begun to fortify itself. Lord Hertford then summoned the town, by virtue of his new commission as Lieutenant-General of Dorset, Somerset, Hants, Wilts, and all Wales. It was at Poole that he purposed to fix his head-quarters; but the Mayor, in the name of the whole town, replied that ‘no commission under the Broad Seal could make law; that the commission to raise troops, without consent of the Houses, was against law; and that, instead of obeying, they trusted to be able, before long, to bring him up to the Parliament to answer for that illegal act*.’

Shortly after the raising of the Royal standard, the Earl of Bedford, Denzil Holles, and Sir Walter Erle, marched, with an army, (according to Clarendon, of at least seven

* Viccars—Parl. Chron.

thousand foot, and eight troops of horse,) raised by Charles Essex, from Wells to Sherbourne, where they were kept in check by Lord Hertford, with a very inferior force.

Portsmouth was, at the time of the raising of the Standard, held for the King, by one whose course,—from first to last, devious, uncertain, and unprincipled,—shed disgrace upon the nobleness of his name, and upon the honourable profession of a soldier. This man was Goring; than whom, on account of his private vices of drunkenness, cruelty, and rapacity, and of his political timidity and treachery, scarcely any one was more unworthy to be trusted with any important matters for counsel or execution. The King, forgetful of how Goring, by formerly betraying his associates in the army plot, had saved himself from the Parliament's wrath, and for a time had won his way into popular favour, was cajoled by his apparent devotedness to the Royal cause, now that, in turn, he deceived the expectations of the Parliament, and held against them the charge they had given him. Goring continued, therefore, in command of the most important fortified

town on the sea-board of England; and that at a time when, (the state of the whole west of the island and of the fleet being considered,) the most brave and faithful hand should surely have been selected to hold the keys of Portsmouth.

Goring, however, seemed to prepare for a bold and obstinate defence. He raised a powerful battery at Portbridge, which commanded the only pass into the island of Portsea, and he strengthened all the works of the town to the land-side. Towards the end of August, the Parliament's troops, which had been collected under Sir John Merrick, appearing on Portsdown, took possession of the London road; and, forcing Portbridge, invested the town to the northward and eastward of Southsea, which was defended by the castle and a line of outworks. On this quarter the siege commenced, and was continued for several days with no advantage gained against the garrison, till a two-gun battery was thrown up on the other side of the town, across the water, at Gosport. By this small work was that great and powerful place of arms, fortified according to the

best rules of art in those days known, and bristling with cannon, and it's beach lined with boats, so annoyed as, in the course of a few days more, to be brought near to a surrender. On the night of the third of September, the Parliamentarians took Southsea Castle by escalade; and, on the next morning, 'the Governor seeing,' says Viccars, 'through perspective glasses, that a good and fair platform was erected at Gosport for ten pieces of ordnance,' proposed terms, and was allowed to march out with the garrison. Upon this inconsiderable menace, and shameful capitulation, (whether moved by treachery or cowardice, or both,) did Goring quit the town which he had boasted should never be taken until he should have blown up the magazine which would have laid it in ruins; and, leaving his garrison to effect a difficult and hazardous march to the King's quarters in the west, he, on the same night, took boat for Holland*.

Meanwhile, the King, having quitted Nottingham, proceeded to Leicester, and, moving on the main London road, menaced Coventry

* Viccars—Parl. Chron. Clarendon—Hist. Reb.

and Warwick. He desired the attendance of the Mayor and Sheriffs of Coventry, and announced to them his intention of occupying their town in person. But the greater number of the inhabitants, putting on Lord Brook's colours, in spite of the presence of the Earl of Northampton their recorder, instructed the Mayor, in conjunction with the principal citizens, to return for answer, that 'his Majesty's Royal person should be 'most respectfully welcome to them, but that 'they humbly besought his Majesty to pardon 'them if they could not with safety permit 'his cavaliers to enter with him*.' By a subsequent message, they limited the number of such attendants as might be permitted to enter with the King to two hundred. The Earl in vain endeavoured to collect an adverse party; but, failing, with his utmost efforts, to muster more than four hundred, was obliged to leave the town, escaping, with great difficulty, through the back door of an inn. Disappointed and incensed at the obstacle which Coventry presented to his advance, the King brought up his battering train,

* Viccars—Parl. Chron.

and, sitting down with a large force, opened his fire upon the city*. Then began a fierce assault, and a gallant defence. The condition of Coventry had been considered by Lord Brook as so little promising, opposed to so large a force as was marched against it, that he had removed the greatest part of the ammunition to Warwick Castle for security. But the brave townsmen undertook to endure the siege. Unsupported by soldiers, unassisted by engineers, and very scantily supplied with the materials of war, they prepared for one of those defences which, in later years, and on a larger scale, unfortified towns in the hands of the people have sometimes successfully made against the regular operations of war. Having barricaded the streets with harrows, carts, and spars, they first endeavoured to man the breach which the King's guns had made in their walls. Driven from thence, they rallied in the streets, and several times forced back his troops beyond their broken gates. At length having, on one occasion, thrown the cavaliers into utter confusion, they pur-

* Collections for History of Coventry. Dugdale's Warwickshire.

sued the advantage, and, rushing out of the town, stormed the King's nearest lines, and, taking several guns, turned them on the retreating enemy with no small execution. The Lord Brook, with Hampden, Lord Say, Lord Grey, Holles, and Cholmley, who had joined from several parts, were now advancing to the relief of this gallant town; on intelligence of which, all further attack on Coventry was abandoned, and the King, drawing off his forces, returned to Leicester.

Hampden had been dispatched out of Buckinghamshire to take the command at Northampton, with a small brigade of infantry and some guns,—his colleague, Arthur Goodwyn, accompanying him with his regiment of cavalry. On the alarm, however, of the King's activity in Warwickshire, he hastened, with all he could collect, to join Lord Brook for the support of that county*. Some weeks before, Lord Brook had been threatened with a siege in his own castle.

On the night of the 28th of August, the Earl of Newcastle, the Earl of Lindsey, the

* True and Remarkable Passages, from Monday, 5th Sept., to Saturday, 10th, 1642.

Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Rivers, the Lord Rich, the Lord Mowbray, and the Lord Capel, with five regiments of foot and ten troops of horse, had marched from Nottingham towards Warwick, where Lord Brook lay with his new levies, but in greater force than they expected, the gentry of the county having flocked thither with their men at arms, forming altogether a body of nearly seven thousand men. Brook having received intelligence, in the morning, of the approach of the Royalist Lords with their army, met them moving upon the town from Grove Park, where they had been entertained by Mr. Dormer, a Roman Catholick gentleman. The two powers met in the fields about a mile from Warwick, when a trumpet was sent forward by the Lords to demand a parley. Their propositions were, that Lord Brook should lay down his arms, a Royal pardon being offered to him, that he should resign Warwick Castle into such hands as the King should think fit, that he should disavow the Ordinance of the Militia, endeavour the execution of the Commission of Array, deliver the magazine of the county into the hands

of the Earl of Northampton, and make submission to the King.

To these conditions the Lords added, that, if they were refused by Lord Brook, he must expect no less than signal and instant punishment. Lord Brook was of a temper not quick to anger, and a mind deeply imbued with the stern and patient reserve which partly the externals of their religion, and partly the pressure of political necessity, had imposed upon the Puritan party. But the spirit of a gallant gentleman, in whose veins flowed the blood of many generations of proud and valiant ancestors, rose up against terms so unworthy to be proposed to him, and against a tone and bearing so unbecoming to the noble persons who addressed him in the confidence of fancied power. Incensed, he wheeled his horse about, to leave them without reply; but, after a moment's consideration, he returned, and, fronting them as he spoke,—
'My Lords,' said he, 'I much wonder that
'men of judgement, in whose breasts true
'honour should hold her seat, should so much
'wrong their noble predecessors as to seek
'the ruin of those high and noble thoughts

‘ they should endeavour to support. Doth
‘ fond ambition, or your self-willed pride, so
‘ much bewitch you that you cannot see the
‘ crown of this your act? When the ‘great
‘ Council of the Parliament was first assem-
‘ bled, you then were members,—honourable
‘ members. Why did you not continue?
‘ Was it because your actions were so bad
‘ you were ashamed to own them? Had you
‘ done evil in some petty kind, a better course
‘ might have quitted you from that, and you
‘ had been still honoured, loved, and feared.
‘ As for these propositions, take this in
‘ answer.—When that his Majesty, his pos-
‘ terity, and the peace of the kingdom, shall
‘ be secured from you, I gladly shall lay down
‘ my arms and power. As for the castle, it
‘ was delivered to my trust by the High Court
‘ of Parliament, who reserve it for the King’s
‘ good use, and I dare boldly say will so em-
‘ ploy it. As for the Commission of Array,
‘ you know it is unlawful. For the magazine
‘ of the county, it was delivered to me also by
‘ the Parliament, and, as a faithful servant to
‘ the country, I am resolved to continue it, till
‘ Northampton can shew me greater authority

‘ for the delivery of the same. As touching
‘ his Majesty’s pardon, as I am confident I
‘ have not given any occasion of offence to
‘ his Majesty, so I need not his pardon ; and
‘ I doubt not in a short time his Majesty will
‘ find who are his best friends. As for your
‘ fury, I wholly disdain it ; and answer it but
‘ by hoping that Northampton may be trans-
‘ lated to Warwick, to stand sentry upon
‘ Warwick Castle, to fright crows and kites.’

These words being thus spoken, the Lords rode back to their party, and Lord Brook to his ; and it was not till the King’s troops, seeing those of the Parliament more numerous than they had expected, had fairly left the field, that Lord Brook returned with his men to Warwick, where, with thanks for their support, he read to them the resolution of approbation which had been passed by the Lords and Commons, for a further incitement*.

Meanwhile, intelligence was received at Warwick that Northampton’s army had passed

* Narrative of Propositions, &c. ; with Lord Brook’s Answer. Published by authority of Parliament, August 20.—In Mr. Staunton’s Collection.

them to the eastward, and was in full march towards Northamptonshire; upon which Lord Brook set forth with a small part of his army, about three thousand, for Southam, where he was joined by Hampden's brigade, which was then moving towards Banbury, Warwick, and Coventry, to his support. These, together, formed a corps of near six thousand infantry, with three hundred horse, and nine guns. The chief officers who commanded this force with Brook and Hampden, were Lord Say, Lord Grey, Denzil Holles, and Cholmley. Thus, raised and led by chiefs to whom the profession of arms was new, and who had only their zeal, reputation, and general abilities, to contribute in aid of the cause, these regiments, particularly those of Brook, Hampden, and Holles, early in the war became distinguished for discipline as well as courage. Gradually ridding themselves of some officers whose skill was unequal to the task they had undertaken, deserted by some, and joined by others, these formed the right wing of Essex's army, of which they were now the first division in the field.

In the middle of the night, this little army

being quartered in Southam, and the powder and other stores found in the town being secured, the men had retired to their billets, wearied with the harassing and rapid march which both brigades had that day made, when news came in from the patrols that the Earl of Northampton had pushed on to within two miles of the town with all his force. The drums instantly beat to arms throughout the town, 'upon hearing whereof, of such mag-
' ' unanimous spirits were the soldiers, and pos-
' ' sessed with such a sudden passion of joy
' ' that their enemies, the Cavaliers, were so
' ' near, that they gave a great shout, with
' ' flinging up of their hats and clattering their
' ' arms, till the town rang again with the sound
' ' thereof, and, casting aside all desire of meat
' ' and lodgings provided for them, went imme-
' ' diately into the fields adjoining to the town,
' ' ready for battle, where they continued till
' ' the morning*.' At daybreak, the enemy, who had been checked overnight by the sounds which told them that the town was on the alert, appeared on the Dunsmore road and lanes adjoining, and formed opposite.

* 'A True and Perfect Relation.'—Mr. Staunton's Coll. of Tracts.

Hampden's brigade, with the guns, being in the first line, had taken post on some rising ground; and Lord Brook, with the second line and the cavalry, in reserve, was covered by the brow of the hill. Thus the two bodies remained, each in silence awaiting the attack, till about eight o'clock, when the soldiers of the Parliament, becoming impatient, began shouting and setting up their hats on their pikes and musket-rests, to draw on the enemy. Lord Brook then moved up his cavalry on Hampden's right, to extend his line, the enemy being observed to bring up some fresh troops, with some pieces of ordnance, on that flank. Hampden began the fight, charging with his infantry, under cover of the guns, and supported by the horse. After a sharp skirmish, the King's troops gave way, and were pursued to the river, leaving their guns behind them, which they had scarcely brought into action; but, beyond this, Lord Brook, with his cavalry, could not follow them, the enemy showing in position behind the river a body of dragoons of at least four times his number. This success against a superiour force seems to have been owing to the Parliament having more cannon,

and using them with effect at the beginning of the affair, the whole of the first line advancing at the moment when the artillery of the King had taken up their ground to answer their fire. Two of Lord Northampton's officers fell into their hands; one of these, Captain Legge, mistaking the green regiment of the enemy for his own, (no uncommon disaster in the commencement of these ill-disciplined campaigns,) was made prisoner in the very midst of the opposite lines. The King and Prince Rupert were said to have been on the field as spectators, and to have retired, before the rout, to Nottingham, and from thence again to Leicestershire. Towards the close of the skirmish, Hampden and Brook were joined by fresh levies of volunteers out of Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and Buckinghamshire; the country bringing in provisions from every part, and the peasantry of the district through which the King's troops retired rising upon the stragglers in the rear of his retreating masses with cudgels and staves*.

Meanwhile, the town of Northampton began

* Viccars—Parl. Chron.

to fortify. On the 5th of September, letters, we find, were received by the Parliament from Withers, the Mayor, stating that Hampden and Goodwyn had marched for Leicester, by which Northampton had been left without assistance to resist the adverse party in that neighbourhood, and praying for troops from London, to supply the place of the former garrison*.

With this requisition the Parliament had not the means of complying. And now, left to their own resources, the citizens began to emulate the late example of those of Coventry, and to prepare for defence. The women worked with the men, day and night, throwing up earth from the ditch, and forming ramparts.

But the King, mortified at the slowness with which his levies proceeded throughout the midland counties, and the delays which, in consequence, befel his cause, resolved to put himself at the head of the forces which were assembling in Shropshire and in Wales. Sending orders to the Earl of Newcastle to

* True and Remarkable Passages, &c., from Monday 5th of September to Saturday 10th, 1642.

move his army southward, to support Lord Northampton and keep Lord Essex's advanced guard in check, he repaired to Derby, and thence to Wellington. Here halting, he issued his orders of war, to be spread through the country wherever troops were collecting in his behalf; and he published a protestation, again declaring the Earl of Essex and his adherents to be traitors, and his troops an army of Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists. From thence he proceeded to Shrewsbury. Here all was favourable and cheering to his cause. Above ten thousand men had, within a week, marched in brigade to join him, well armed, and already disciplined by bodies of old soldiers mixed up in their ranks to the amount of full one-half of the whole number. These powers were daily increasing, and supported by crowds of Welshmen, ill armed and undisciplined, but still formidable on account of their wild spirit, and of the vast accession which they gave to an army in a fertile country where an abundant harvest had just been reaped, and which was well able to support them. It was here, too, that he received the encouraging news, from the

north, of the arrival of a second supply, from Holland, of arms, ammunition, and money, which had escaped the vigilance of Warwick's cruizers.

Clarendon expresses his surprise, that, during this period, and even before the King left Nottingham, Essex did not advance upon the line which was before him. A week before the King began his journey, no assurance, (to use the phrase quoted by Lord Clarendon as Sir Jacob Astley's,) could have been given to the King against his being taken out of his bed, if a brisk attempt had been made to that purpose. But, short of any extremity which these words are meant to describe, Rupert might have been driven back, the King obliged to place himself in the hands of the Parliament, or to quit the island, and the war thus brought to an end*. This was the first grand display of Lord Essex's overmastering faults of dilatoriness and indecision. By those who confound these qualities, in war or politicks, with a spirit of moderation, Essex is praised for not pressing upon the King; but even

* Clarendon—Hist. Reb.

Clarendon, with all his feelings on these subjects, treats this only as matter of oversight on the one part, and of wonder on the other. It was not what Hampden meant when he advised refusing the offer of treaty from Nottingham. No delay, in truth, occasioned during a treaty, could have given the King greater advantage than Essex now voluntarily afforded him. Essex had experience in the details of war: he was a good general in the day of battle; but, beyond the science of operations in the field, he had no qualities for command. His recommendation for the office of General-in-Chief consisted, indeed, only in his possessing, to an eminent degree, the love and confidence of his soldiers, and in his high birth and Presbyterian tenets, which made his appointment a compromise agreeable to a large party in the Upper House, who, though faithful in the cause, were yet well pleased to see in the Lord-General a person qualified by position and by religion to neutralize the ascendancy of the Root and Branch men, and of the Independents. Accordingly, with good motives and great means, he conducted

himself throughout as one acting for a party rather than for a cause; and his timid and temporizing policy inclined him always, (as Cromwell afterwards said of Kimbolton,) to 'such a peace to which victory would have 'been an obstacle.' He entered upon the business of the Civil War, having by his side Dalbier, and other soldiers of fortune, who had long served abroad in foreign pay. In a war of great principles, mercenaries may be good agents, but are bad advisers. Hampden saw this; and his penetration was afterwards done justice to by Cromwell. In the field Cromwell pursued the system which Hampden had in vain recommended. The technical rules of war were easily to be learnt; but the successful application of them, in great affairs, required more than mere soldiership. Dalbier and Lesly failed before Oliver, who had studied the lessons of their experience, but had, in addition, higher gifts,—the knowledge of how the spirits of men were to be dealt with. He cultivated the enthusiasm of the young troops, and conquered. Hampden from the beginning kept the cause, and the object of it, straight in view. He knew that

to begin with displaying a spirit of compromise renders an advantageous compromise in the end impracticable. It was those who knew little of his real ends, or were little disposed to do them justice, who said, that 'when he drew the sword, he threw away the scabbard.' Such a metaphor describes a feeling seldom known in any higher grade of an army than among its ranks.

But from this time began that conflict of system between Hampden and the Lord-General, of which the history of the next year gives so many instances.

A party in Yorkshire began now to form and arm for the Parliament, under Sir John Hotham and his son, who, by the departure of the Earl of Newcastle, were enabled to move out of Hull, and occupy a line of country to the north of the Humber. These levies increasing gradually in numbers, the leaders chose Ferdinando Lord Fairfax to be their Commander-in-Chief; and their choice was confirmed by Ordinance. They then proceeded to garrison some other fortified places in the county, and forced Sir William Saville, and the other Cavaliers who

had been left in weak and detached parties, to throw themselves into Pomfret Castle. On the other bank of the river, the Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Earl of Lincoln, and other persons of influence in Lincolnshire, raised troops of horse, and proceeded to form a junction with Fairfax's northern army*.

Meanwhile, a division of the King's troops, moving southward, began to take in towns upon their line of advance. The Earl of Derby, with Lord Molineux, marching with a large force to the westward of the course which the Earl of Newcastle had taken, traversed Cheshire; and, in order to place themselves on the flank of Fairfax, summoned the town of Manchester, establishing their batteries in Salford; but the citizens, assisted by a German engineer, stood a close and hot siege for some days, and obliged the Earl to retire. The state of Yorkshire, however,—it's inclinations strongly favourable to the King's cause, and supported by the presence of this well-appointed and numerous army on it's western frontier,—presented such difficulties in the way of any active operations for

* Viccars—Parl. Chron.

the Parliament in those parts, that Lord Fairfax, and many of the gentry who had joined him, shewed a disposition to propose a treaty of neutrality;—a measure evidently fraught with the most serious injury to the Parliamentary cause in the midland counties. For, the King's object being to collect all his disposable force nearer the metropolis, he would have been thus enabled to leave the whole north, with the Parliament's levies there, such as they were, neutralized, and put out of a condition to act; while he might have carried on the great objects of the war undisturbed, until it should have suited his convenience to return northwards in force.

This negotiation, however, was stopped by peremptory instructions from Westminster. But to the same instrument the Houses, inflamed by the King's denunciations against Lord Essex and their other leaders, were persuaded to enter exceptions, charging treason against eleven of the ministers and principal officers of the household, who had first declared against their authority. These were the Earls of Bristol, Cumberland, Rivers, and Newcastle, Lord Newark, and

Endymion Porter; and, besides these, some of the wisest and best of the advisers of the King,—the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Falkland, Hyde, and Secretary Nicholas,—who, if there had been a chance of moderating the King's temper and counsels, so as to bring him to any hopeful terms of treaty, would probably have been the most inclined, and certainly the most able, to do so. This was a violent and ill advised act of the Parliament, and is hardly to be accounted for but by a degree of passion unworthy of their accustomed sagacity and prudence.

But, upon this proclamation, their army in the north ceased from its inactivity; and Hotham put himself in march, with a brigade, to the support of the western towns, and took Doncaster, and Selby, and Cawood Castle, where the Archbishop of York had established a place of arms*.

On the first shew of the King's intention to move southward with his main army, London and Westminster completed their fortifica-

* Continuation of certain Special and Remarkable Passages, from Monday, 10th October, to Friday, 14th.

tions, and increased their train-bands to a great amount. Batteries were thrown up in the suburbs, at Mile End, Islington, and the approaches to Westminster; bars and chains drawn across the entrances of the main streets, and lines constructed on the heights towards Hampstead and Harrow; and armed boats, with ordnance, sent up the river to Maidenhead and Windsor*. To supply the expenses of this defence, votes of sequestration were passed against the revenues of bishopricks and deaneries, and against the rents of those who had been declared delinquents.

It was now that Bishops were voted down, root and branch; on which occasion great illuminations and bonfires were kindled in London, and an ordinance was passed, (a singular accompaniment to a general rejoicing,) putting down stage plays, and directing monthly fasts; and the people, animated at once by resentment and by danger, loaded the tables of both Houses with unqualified tenders of fidelity and service for life or death.

* Special Passages and Certain Informations, from Tuesday, 11th October, to Tuesday, 18th. Perfect Diurnal, Tuesday, 18th October.

The Parliament, having ceased to treat, now set forth, in a long and eloquent proclamation, the provocations under which they had taken arms, and that the end for which they did so was ‘to procure and establish the safety of religion and fruition of our laws and liberties in this and all other his Majesty’s dominions, which we do here again protest before the Almighty God to be the chief end of all our counsels and resolutions, without any intention or desire to hurt or injure his Majesty, either in his person or just power.’

The virtuous and brave Lord Brook, to whose high qualities even his enemies paid their reluctant tribute, had been placed by vote at the head of the Lieutenancy of the County of Warwick*. He assembled, at his castle, the commanders and captains who had been elected to take charge of that county, to deliver to them their commissions. There, in the hall of that noble fortress, threatened with an instant siege, and his troops newly mustered, and unprepared for war, save by the spirit which they had already caught from their dauntless leader, he harangued his

* Clarendon—Hist. Reb.

officers in a speech abounding in high and manly feeling. He enlarged upon the miseries of a civil war, and the unprovoked courses which compelled them to engage in it*. 'Persuasions,' said he, 'to valiant men, as I know you to be, are useless; and if I thought there were any of you that was not to be incited more by the justice of the quarrel than any oratory to fight in this cause, surely I would rather wish his room than his company; for, if the nobility and bravery of the cause be not sufficient to animate even cowards, and make even the meanest spirits courageous, I know not what possibly can stir up mortal men to put on undaunted resolutions.' He then appealed to them as husbands and brothers, who would save their houses, their wives, and sisters, from the lawless fury of soldiers, hired and incensed to insult and to outrage. He described the conduct of the royal troops, on free quarter, where they had been admitted or faintly opposed. He appealed to them by their religion,—by that freedom of conscience which invokes you to stand up its champions against those

* In Mr. Staunton's Collection.

‘ Papistical malignants who would strike at
‘ God through the very heart of his known
‘ truth so long practised among us.’ He vindicated their cause from the aspersion of it’s having been undertaken against the King. ‘ They were to fight,’ said he, ‘ to keep the
‘ crown and kingdom for the sovereign and
‘ his posterity, to maintain his known rights
‘ and privileges, which are only relative with
‘ the people’s liberties.’

He then spoke ‘ touching those gentlemen
‘ who, being strangers, are come hither to
‘ proffer to us their services, and, in testimonial of their abilities, and that they have
‘ been commanders in the German wars, have
‘ here produced their several certificates. I
‘ must needs thank the gentlemen for their
‘ kind proffer, and yet desire license to be
‘ plain with them, hoping they will not take
‘ it as a disparagement of their valours if I
‘ tell them we have now too woful experience
‘ in this kingdom of the German wars, and
‘ therefore cannot so well approve of the aid
‘ of foreign and mercenary auxiliaries. In
‘ Germany, they fought only for spoil, rapine,
‘ and destruction ; merely money it was, and

‘hope of gain, that excited the soldier to that
‘service. It is not here so required, as the
‘cause stands with us. We must rather em-
‘ploy men who will fight merely for the cause
‘sake, and bear their own charge, than those
‘who expect rewards and salaries; for by
‘such means we shall never have a con-
‘clusion of these wars. For mercenaries,
‘whose end is merely their pay, as for their
‘subsistence, rather covet to spin out the
‘wars to a prodigious length, as they have
‘done in other countries, than to see them
‘brought to a happy period. We must dis-
‘patch this great work in a short time, or be
‘all liable to inevitable ruin. I shall, there-
‘fore, speak my conscience. I had rather
‘have a thousand honest citizens that can
‘handle their arms, whose hearts go with
‘their hands, than thousands of mercenary
‘soldiers that boast of their foreign expe-
‘rience.’

He thus ended :—‘And so I shall conclude
‘my speech, and turn it into prayer, that God
‘Almighty will arise and maintain his own
‘cause, scattering and confounding the de-
‘vices of his enemies, not suffering the un-

‘ godly to prevail over his flock. Lord, we
‘ are but a handful in consideration of thine
‘ and our enemies. Therefore, O Lord, fight
‘ thou our battles : go out as thou didst in the
‘ time of David before the hosts of thy ser-
‘ vants ; and strengthen and give us hearts,
‘ that we may show ourselves men, for the
‘ defence of thy true religion, and our own
‘ and the King and Kingdom’s safety.’

PART THE NINTH.

1642.

Defence of Warwick Castle by Sir Edward Peto—Of Caldecot Manor-House by Mrs. Purefoy—Lord Essex advances to Worcester—His Speech to his Army—Skirmish at Powick Bridge—Parliamentarians enter Worcester—Parliament's Petition for Peace—Rejected by the King—Essex advances his Army—Hampden and Holles defeat a party near Aylesbury—and pursue them into Worcestershire—The King puts himself in march towards London—Edge Hill fight—March through the midland counties—Action between Balfore and Rupert at Aylesbury—Battle of Brentford—Retreat of the King.

PART THE NINTH.

1642.

BEFORE the arrival of the main army, the Parliament's quarters round Northampton and Daventry had been harassed by sharp and frequent attacks; and Lord Brook had quitted his castle, and hastened to their relief. Warwick had for a while ceased to be threatened; yet it was not safe to materially weaken it's defences. He, therefore, took only his troop of horse, and a few companies of pikemen, leaving Sir John Peto in command, with a part of the infantry, mostly of the new levies, and dispatching the rest to the neighbourhood of Coventry and Birmingham. On the same day, his departure was made known to Lord Northampton, who instantly put a large body of troops in march for Warwick; but, making a circuit to the southward, he first entered Banbury, where, little prepared for such an

incursion, the townsmen held a large store of ammunition, with some pieces of ordnance. Of these supplies the Earl possessed himself, meeting with little, if any, opposition; and then proceeded rapidly to his destination. Early in the morning of the next day but one, he entered Warwick with all his forces, and summoned the castle. Sir Edward Peto without hesitation returned an absolute refusal to treat. After a pause of two hours, another summons was sent in, and terms offered, which were met by an indignant reply, that the Earl might at first have taken the word of a gentleman who would not surrender his trust. Lord Compton, the Earl's son, began the attack with a few guns from the town, while his father and Lord Dunsmore threw up a battery on some rising ground in the park, on the other side of the castle. Sir Edward then sent a trumpet, desiring that 'all friends should leave the town, but, for the rest, he bid them look to themselves;' and, upon the return of the officer, hung out a red flag of defiance from Guy's Tower. Well furnished with ammunition, but with no heavier

ordnance than a few drakes and some large wall-pieces, he now began to return the fire, which continued, though without much effect on either side, for three days. The castle's strength was security enough against any attempt by storm, nor had it anything to fear from the effect of the few guns which had been brought from Banbury; while the assailants on the town side were covered by the houses, which the garrison were loth to batter or burn down. On the third day, Lord Compton planted some cannon on the church tower, from which the fire of the castle soon dislodged him, knocking down one of the pinnacles, and making his position too dangerous to be held. The besiegers then trusted to starving out the garrison, and, thenceforward, remained under shelter of the town; those on the other side never having unmasked their battery, but keeping the trees still standing for their protection. The castle being thus invested, Sir Edward hoisted on the flag-staff of the tower a Bible and a winding-sheet, the one as a testimony of his cause, and the other of his determination to maintain it to the last.

Nothing seemed likely to be gained to the opposite party by protracting the siege. The King was advancing to relieve Worcester. He required the whole strength of his army; and Lord Northampton, therefore, drew off his troops to join him*.

Scarcely had the siege of Warwick Castle been raised, when Prince Rupert, with from five to six hundred cavalry, marched upon Caldecot Manor-house, in the north of the county, with intent to take it by surprise. It belonged to Mr. William Purefoy, a gentleman of ancient family, a member of the House of Commons, and colonel of a regiment in garrison at Warwick Castle. When Rupert summoned Caldecot, there were none within but Mrs. Purefoy, her two daughters, Mr. Abbott, her son-in-law, eight serving men, and a few maid-servants†. This brave little garrison refused to surrender, inspired by the example of a woman's courage and fidelity to maintain the charge for her absent husband. The history of the civil wars

* Tracts in the possession of Mr. Staunton. Collection for a History of Warwickshire.

† Gibson's Additions to Camden.

affords several such instances. The stories of Lathom Hall, held by the Countess of Derby, and of Warder Castle, by Blanch Lady Arundell, have added lustre to those noble names. The holding of Caldecot was not less heroick, nor it's capitulation less honourable. The assailants broke down the main gate of the outer court; but the men, stationed at the windows, received them with so well directed a fire, that, at the first onset, three of Rupert's officers, and several of his soldiers, were slain. There were twelve muskets in the house; the women loading them, as the men continued the execution with rapid and deadly aim. The attack continued for several hours, with repeated assaults, in the intervals between which, as the bullets were expended, the women ran the pewter of their kitchen dishes into moulds for a fresh supply. At length, towards night-fall, mortified with the obstinate resistance, and with the loss he had already sustained, Rupert drew off his party, but, as he retired, set fire to the barns and outhouses.* The wind blowing fresh upon the main building, he again advanced under cover of the smoke

and darkness. And now,—the ammunition within failing, the house threatened with instant conflagration, and no hope of succour remaining,—the brave lady went forth, and claimed protection from the Prince, stipulating for the lives of her garrison.

It was then first that he was made aware of the smallness of the force which had so gallantly withstood so fierce and protracted an assault. He granted her condition ; and, to his honour, as Viccars confesses, ‘ being much
‘ taken with their most notable valour, saved
‘ their lives and house from plundering, saying to Mr. Abbott that he was worthy to be
‘ a chief commander in an army, and prof-
‘ fered him such a place in his army, if he
‘ would go with him ; but he modestly refused
‘ it. However, the said Prince fairly per-
‘ formed his promise, and would not suffer a
‘ pennyworth of the goods in the house to be
‘ taken from them ; and so departed*.’

Prince Rupert rejoined the King at Shrewsbury, where he remained till the preparations were completed for taking the field with the

* Viccars—Parl. Chron.—Continuation of Special and Remarkable Passages—Gibson’s Additions to Camden.—Monument of Mr. Abbott in Caldecot Church.

whole army. He now returned with the advanced guard. Worcester was held for the King, and Rupert was moving along the Severn in the direction of that city, in order to relieve the garrison, which was threatened by the Earl of Essex.

On the 19th of September, he sent a flag of truce, with a message, to the Lord-General, who was then at Northampton preparing to march upon Worcester. He reproached him with his treasons, questioned him as to his intended line of march, whether on Worcester or Coventry, and offered to give him the meeting, with the best army each could provide, on Dunsmore Heath. Essex was not tempted by this proposal of the Prince's to allow the King's army to advance in front of Birmingham, Coventry, and Warwick, (thus effectually cutting off these towns from all relief,) nor to allow an enemy, superiour to him in the numbers and equipment of his cavalry*, to choose the place of meeting on an open heath, and in the midst of a country abounding with forage, of which the Prince stood much in need.† The offer was

* Clarendon—Hist. Reb.

† Ibid.

such as might have been expected from a chieftain of twenty-three, with a brilliant division of above five thousand new raised horse; but not such as was likely to be accepted by an experienced general, whose advantage consisted in infantry, in artillery (which, in those days, was a cumbrous weapon, not easily to be wielded in the open field against cavalry), and in the extent of friendly district in his rear. Nor, probably, was he without his suspicions that the time expended in arranging the terms of this challenge, might be employed by the King in strengthening and relieving Worcester. ‘Whereupon, his Excellency returned answer, that the manner of his raising those forces that were then with him ready to march under his command was a thing not now to be disputed on between them, the occasions and legality thereof being already determined by both Houses of Parliament; neither had he undertaken that command with any intent for to levy forces or to make war against his Majesty’s Royal person; but to obtain a peace between his Sacred Majesty and his Great Council of Parliament, and all the rest of his Majes-

‘ty’s faithful, dutiful, and most loyal subjects, against any persons whatsoever that should oppose and resist the same; and that he feared not to meet the Prince in any place that he should appoint or make choice of*.’ But, meanwhile, he put his army in march for Worcester. He was again accompanied from Northampton, as he had been from London, along several miles of road, by the principal gentry of the neighbourhood, and by crowds of people, with great rejoicings, and loud expressions of good-will.

The Lord-General now established himself in Worcester; and he lost no time in issuing his orders of war in the form of a speech at the head of his army. He desired them to take notice of what on his honour he promised to perform, and what he should expect from them. ‘I do promise, in the sight of Almighty God, to undertake nothing but what shall tend to the advancement of the true Protestant religion, the securing of his Ma-

* Prince Robert’s Speech to the Earl of Essex, and his excellency’s Answer thereunto from Northampton, on Monday, Sept. 19. King’s Coll., Brit. Mus.

‘ jesty’s royal person, the maintenance of the
‘ just privileges of Parliament, and the liberty
‘ and property of the subject. Neither will I
‘ engage any of you into any danger, but I
‘ will, in my own person, run an equal hazard
‘ with you, and either bring you off with
‘ honour, or (if God have so decreed) fall with
‘ you, and willingly become a sacrifice for the
‘ preservation of my country. Likewise I do
‘ promise that my ear shall be open to hear
‘ the complaint of the poorest of my soldiers,
‘ though against the chiefest of my officers,
‘ neither shall his greatness (if justly taxed)
‘ gain any privilege; but I shall be ready to
‘ execute justice against all, from the greatest
‘ to the least. Your pay shall be constantly
‘ delivered to your commanders, and, if de-
‘ fault be made by any officer, give me timely
‘ notice, and you shall find speedy redress. I
‘ shall now declare what is your duty towards
‘ me, which I must likewise expect to be care-
‘ fully performed by you. I shall desire all
‘ and every officer to endeavour by love and
‘ affable carriage to command his soldiers;
‘ since what is done for fear is done unwillingly,
‘ and what is unwillingly attempted can never

‘ prosper. Likewise ’tis my request that you
‘ be very careful in the exercising of your
‘ men, and bring them to use their arms readily
‘ and expertly, and not busy them in practis-
‘ ing the ceremonious forms of military dis-
‘ cipline ; only let them be well instructed in
‘ the necessary rudiments of war ; that they
‘ may fall on with discretion, and retreat with
‘ care ; how maintain their order, and make
‘ good their ground. Also I do expect that
‘ all those which voluntarily engaged them-
‘ selves in this service should answer my
‘ expectation in the performance of these
‘ ensuing articles.

‘ 1. That you willingly and cheerfully obey
‘ such as by your own election you have made
‘ commanders over you.

‘ 2. That you take special care to keep your
‘ arms at all times fit for service, that upon all
‘ occasions you may be ready, when the signal
‘ shall be given by the sound of drum or
‘ trumpet, to repair to your colours, and so to
‘ march upon any service, where and when
‘ occasion shall require.

‘ 3. That you bear yourselves like soldiers,
‘ without doing any spoil to the inhabitants of

‘ the country; so doing you shall obtain love
‘ and friendship, where, otherwise, you will be
‘ hated and complained of, and I, that should
‘ protect you, shall be forced to punish you
‘ according to the severity of law.

‘ 4. That you accept, and rest satisfied with,
‘ such quarters as shall fall to your lot, or be
‘ appointed you by your quarter-master.

‘ 5. That you shall, if appointed for sentries
‘ or perdues, faithfully discharge that duty;
‘ for, upon fail hereof, you shall be sure to
‘ undergo a very severe censure.

‘ 6. You shall forbear to prophane the sab-
‘ bath, either by being drunk, or by unlawful
‘ games; for whosoever shall be found faulty
‘ must not expect to pass unpunished.

‘ 7. Whosoever shall be known to neglect
‘ the feeding of his horse with necessary pro-
‘ vender, to the end that his horse be disabled
‘ or unfit for service, the party for the said
‘ default shall suffer a month’s imprisonment,
‘ and afterwards be cashiered, as unworthy
‘ the name of a soldier.

‘ 8. That no trooper, or other of our soldiers,
‘ shall suffer his paddee to feed his horse in
‘ the corn, or to steal men’s hay, but shall

‘ pay, every man, for hay 6*d.* day and night,
‘ and for oats 2*s.* the bushel.

‘ Lastly, that you avoid cruelty. For it
‘ is my desire rather to save the lives of thou-
‘ sands than to kill one; so that it may be
‘ done without prejudice. These things faith-
‘ fully performed, and the justice of our cause
‘ truly considered, let us advance with a reli-
‘ gious courage, and willingly adventure our
‘ lives in the defence of the king and par-
‘ liament*.’

On the 22d of September, while the army was on it's march, a skirmish was fought, which both parties agreed in calling the battle of Worcester. Improperly so named; for it was but an affair of outposts in which a few hundred men were engaged, and it was not fought at Worcester, but about four miles from that city, at Powick Bridge, upon the river Team. But both parties were equally eager to announce to the country that a battle had been fought, and equally well determined to claim the result of it as a victory to themselves; each giving very inflated acc^ounts of their enemy's superiority in numbers, and of

* King's Pamphlets—Brit. Mus.

the decisiveness of their own success. All the diurnals, proclamations, and intelligencers, which issued from either side to spread the news, were remarkably unscrupulous on this point. The exaggerations seem to be very evenly balanced. The real issue of the engagement was, (no very uncommon event in the beginning of these wars,) that the one party was beaten back in the field, and the other, immediately after, retired in a panick, leaving the post which they had to defend to an adversary who had given no proof of being able to take it. Ludlow, however, in his memoirs, appears to give the most honest and credible evidence, inasmuch as he speaks very frankly of the misconduct on his own side, and owns the defeat. This, compared with Clarendon's, and correcting the misrepresentations of other more detailed accounts, gives a tolerably intelligible view of the affair.

About ten troops of the parliament's regular horse, and six of dragoons*, under the command of Colonel Browne and Colonel Sandys,

* The dragoons are, in these accounts, always distinguished from the horse. They were troops who acted with the regular cavalry, but often on foot, and sometimes mounting behind the

being in all about five hundred, made good their passage of the bridge, and, drawing up in a meadow on the left of the road, established themselves there till the next day, waiting the support of the main body, and, apparently, little expecting to be attacked; for they had placed themselves with a narrow bridge and an unfordable river behind them. To lead them into further disadvantage, the enemy dispatched a messenger, disguised, with a false report that Sir William Balfore, lieutenant-general in chief of the parliament's cavalry, was in force on the other side of the city. The messenger delivered orders, as from Balfore, that, upon the firing of a cannon, which was to be his signal of onset, they were to advance upon the lanes nearer the city, to stop and capture the flying garrison. Soon after this, some of the enemy's dragoons shewed themselves on the road, and, Colonel Sandys having mounted for the attack, the whole body, contrary to Nathaniel Fiennes's

horsemen in advance or retreat. They were armed with long swords, like the troopers; but they also carried matchlocks, and are supposed by Dr. Meyrick to have derived their name from the locks of the carbines of the first dragoons having the representation of a dragon's head, with the lighted match borne in its jaws.

and Captain Wingate's advice, (who would, at all events, have waited for the signal,) pushed forward. But, though they had not given time for the enemy's ambush to be thoroughly formed, they soon discovered that they had been mistaken in supposing those in front to be beaten men leaving the town. For, while engaged with the dragoons, they suddenly found themselves attacked on both flanks by infantry, who opened a severe fire, and then charged them with their pole-axes. Nathaniel Fiennes, on whose reputation for personal courage there never was a just stain, (however unfurnished he was with the firmness befitting the higher responsibilities of the military profession,) behaved with great valour. He instantly supported the advanced party, and, with his own hand, pistolled the officer commanding the enemy's horse. Then, breaking through them, he forced them over the hedges among their own infantry. But Sandys was mortally wounded, and taken. At length, pressed by fresh troops, (Rupert and Maurice being both in the field with about 1600 men,) the Parliamentarians retired in confusion across the bridge, hotly pursued,

and with great loss*. Edmund Ludlow was with the advanced guard of the main army, being then in the Lord General's body-guard of gentlemen, at Parshot, on the way from Northamptonshire. 'The body of our routed party,' says he, 'returned in great disorder to Parshot, at which place our life-guard was appointed to quarter that night; where, as we were marching into the town, we discovered horsemen riding very hard towards us, with drawn swords, and many of them without hats, from whom we understood the particulars of our loss, not without improvement, by reason of the fear with which they were possessed, telling us that the enemy was hard by in pursuit of them; whereas, it afterwards appeared, they came not within four miles of that place. Our life-guard being, for the most part, strangers to things of this nature, were much alarmed with this report; yet, some of us, unwilling to give credit to it till we were better in-

* Viccars's Parl. Chron. Ludlow's Memoirs., † Clarendon—Hist. Reb. Kingdome's Weekly Intelligencer. Continuation of Speciall and Remarkable Passages, from Monday the 3d, till the 5th of October.

‘ formed, offered ourselves to go out upon a
‘ further discovery of the matter; but our
‘ Captain, Sir Philip Stapylton, not being
‘ then with us, his Lieutenant, one Bainham,
‘ an old soldier (a generation of men much
‘ cried up at that time), drawing us into a
‘ field, where he pretended we might more
‘ advantageously charge if there should be
‘ occasion, commanded us to wheel about.
‘ But our gentlemen, not yet well understand-
‘ ing the difference between “ wheeling-
‘ about ” and “ shifting for themselves,”
‘ their backs being now towards the enemy
‘ whom they thought to be close in the
‘ rear, retired to the army in a very disho-
‘ nourable manner, and the next morning
‘ rallied at the head-quarters, where we re-
‘ ceived but cold welcome from the General,
‘ as we well deserved.’

The next day the garrison of Worcester retired on it's way to Shrewsbury, though the King was advancing to their relief, with a force, which, together with their's, outnumbered Essex's whole army. They took with them Wingate, whom they had made prisoner in the fight, and (as Viccars says), ‘ it was

‘credibly reported, most barbarously and
‘basely made him ride naked, though a
‘Member of Parliament, and a pious worthy
‘gentleman.’ How far this special case may
be true, with it’s somewhat whimsical aggra-
vations, is not perhaps very much worth
serious inquiry*. Rupert, generally known
at that time under the name of the Prince
Robert, and, among the Parliamentarians,
by no very forced conceit, under that of ‘the
‘Prince Robber,’ had not served at the head
of a regiment in Germany, without acquiring,
and encouraging very abundantly and freely
among his horsemen, the insolent and cruel
spirit of partizan warfare. Particular in-
stances of this sort, it is true, were treasured
up by the Parliamentary chroniclers, to serve
as general examples of the conduct of the
opposite party; but it is equally true, that
Rupert’s general conduct in these respects
subjected him, more than once, to a check in

* A very different account is given of the subsequent treatment which he received. ‘Captaine Wingate is used like a gentleman by
‘the Cavaliers; and the printed pamphlets doe much injury that
‘expresse any harde usage of him by them. Give the devill his due,
‘and doe soe to the Cavaliers in this thing.’ *Speciall Passages.*
From the 11th to the 18th of October.

the published orders of the King, and that, wherever he appeared, the war was usually marked with great ferocity and excess. His generous conduct to Mrs. Purefoy, after the surrender of Caldecot House, appears, indeed, as a solitary exception.

Lord Essex now took possession of Worcester.

On the 29th of September, a struggle took place in the Guildhall, on the election of the Lord Mayor of London; those of the Livery who were secretly attached to the Court proposing Sir John Cordwell, but the Parliamentarians carrying the election of Alderman Pennington by a very large majority; an event as injurious to what remained of the King's interest in the city, as the attempt had been unwise. It exasperated, if possible still more, the already inflamed spirits of the citizens; and it did so in a manner which only gave them a public triumph, and exposed to danger the opposing minority, who had thus displayed themselves as a party, and proved at once their own weakness and the utter hopelessness of their further progress there.

The Parliament, however, resumed a tone of moderation. Though their cause was already in arms throughout the country, it had not yet been committed in open field against the king in person. While a hope remained of avoiding this extremity, every effort to delay it was a duty. And this justice, at least, must be done to the Parliament's motives in this delay, that every day was increasing the King's means in men, in military stores from abroad, and in the influence of his name and of those of his supporters; while the preparations made by the houses, and by their generals, were complete, and not likely to be further extended. They, however, instantly dispatched another petition for peace, setting forth the distractions of the country, protesting against the machinations of the secret cabinet, particularly in respect of the dreadful massacres still flagrant in Ireland, and of the open menace of an incursion of the Irish rebels, and of troops from Germany and Denmark; and ending with what Viccars terms a 'most just redargution of the malignant' foul and false slanders on the Parliament.'

To this proposition, forwarded by Essex to the King, and praying also safe conduct and free access for himself to his Majesty, this brief and haughty answer was returned:—
' That his Majesty would receive any petition
' that should be presented to him from his
' Parliament, and give free access to those that
' should bring the same; but that he would
' not receive any petition from the hands of
' any traitor.' In one short intemperate sentence thus casting back at once every approach to a treaty, and rendering all further proposition, as affairs then stood, entirely hopeless. For, besides the unnecessary violence of recalling to the Parliament's remembrance, at such a moment, that the person in whom they had voted their chief confidence had been proclaimed a traitor, it showed them the impossibility of procuring access to the King for any other person entrusted with a similar project of accommodation; almost every one of those leading members of either house to whom such project or petition could be with benefit confided being precluded under the same proscription from appearing in the royal presence.

On this a resolution was passed, that ‘ for his Majesty to make such a distinction of his Parliament, that he would receive no petition from the hands of such whom he accounts traitors, he did therein abridge them of the greatest privilege of Parliament that can be, and in effect refuse to receive any petition from them at all. For that his Majesty, by proclaiming the Earl of Essex and his adherents to be traitors, hath, in these words, comprehended both the houses of Parliament, which is not only against the privileges of Parliament, but also against the fundamental laws of the land.’ It was therefore also voted, ‘ that the Earl of Essex should go forward in raising forces according to his instructions, and lay by the said petition which was to have been presented to his Majesty ; and that the Lord-General should advance his army.’

Nor did the mischief rest here. The Lord Mohun and the Earl of Bath had returned their summonses to the Parliament, denying it to be a free Parliament, and alledging that they had the King’s warrant for not obeying its commands. The Lord Capel had also,

at the same time, given commission to the Marquis of Hertford to apply all his rents in the west to the maintaining of the war against the Parliament. Again, then, the Parliament proceeded with these three Lords as it had done with the eleven who had first left Westminster for York ; and, in order to retaliate upon the King a petulant course which showed no better in the imitation, voted them to be capital delinquents, and that their estates should be placed in commission for the publick service of the Commonwealth. The lands and estates, also, of all convicted Papists, and Popish recusants, (the common unjust resource of the English Government on all such occasions of need,) were voted to be sequestered, and their persons to be secured*.

Meanwhile, it appears that Hampden was incessantly and variously occupied in all the affairs of the war. We find him in Northampton, at the head-quarters of the Earl of Essex, and leading his brigade in the general advance of the army upon Worcester ; but, several times was he journeying to and fro between Northampton and London, to hold

* Viccars—Parl. Chron.

counsel with the Parliament, and to assist at the Committee of Publick Safety; and, a very few days before the advance, he was dispatched to take the command at Aylesbury, where the magazines of the county lay, and towards which, it seems, that parties of the Earl of Northampton's division were moving by circuitous routes, occasionally laying waste the country round, and threatening to force the new raised and unconnected bodies of volunteers who guarded the London road in Essex's rear. On the 16th, supported by Holles, he commanded in a severe skirmish at a short distance from the town of Aylesbury, in which many were slain, and the cavaliers were repulsed and pursued, the prisoners being sent to Buckingham and Wycombe jails. A requisition was instantly sent to London for troops to reinforce the garrison of Aylesbury. Hampden and Holles, however, did not pause upon their advantage, but pursued the beaten party in the direction of Oxford, from which city they dislodged the Lord Byron, and followed him into the Vale of Evesham, where, on the 21st, they brought him to action, and dispersed his

force. They then rejoined Lord Essex's army upon its entry into Worcester*.

The war had by this time assumed a more determinate object and system, and its operations were conducted on a larger scale. Hitherto, ignorant of the amount of each other's strength, doubtful of the extent of each other's views, and irresolute as to their own, and each looking daily for some decisive proposal of accommodation to be made from the adverse side, both parties had contented themselves with uncombined enterprizes and encounters, which had, for the most part, sprung from local causes rather than from any which could materially expedite the great issue of the conflict. But the natural consequences of these uncombined enterprizes and encounters now began to appear. Neighbouring posts were strengthened and multiplied, in order to give support to the scattered parties in the field. Extensive lines of communication were formed, and the armies on both sides drew in their detachments to move on points. The King, who

* Special Passages, Sept. 23 and 24.

had now advanced from Shrewsbury and Ludlow, having manœuvred for some days with skill and success in the neighbourhood of Worcester, was enabled, suddenly putting himself in march to the eastward, to effect a junction with Lord Northampton's division. It was now about the middle of October. His army was collected in a body of near twenty thousand men, and a large part of it on Essex's flank was actually covering one of the main roads to the metropolis, where the Parliament sat protected only by the trainbands of the city, and by some half-formed and undisciplined levies which still remained to guard the stores of the midland counties, and which might have been either forced or passed. The flanking roads on both sides were circuitous and bad. Essex's communications extended from Worcester, through part of Oxfordshire, into Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex. But the line was too much extended; it was weak, and easy to be broken through in almost any part. The King's were complete, from Ludlow and Shrewsbury, northward, to the furthest ex-

tremity of Cheshire, and, westward, through Wales, to Cornwall, Devonshire, and Somersetshire, where Hopton, Grenvil, and Slanning, were daily increasing their powers. The King had succeeded in placing himself nearly two days' march in advance of the main army of the Parliament, on the way to London. The Parliament had already dispatched peremptory orders to Lord Essex to proceed, by forced marches, on the Warwickshire road, in order to menace, and, if possible, turn, the King's right flank; but, this failing, at all hazards to bring him to action. Lord Essex had a double motive for wishing to force a battle;—first, to prove his troops, and, if possible, give the impression of a victory; and, secondly, to delay the King, and endeavour to break through his army, and thus resume that defensive position, with his back upon London, of which the King had so dexterously deprived him. Charles had every interest in avoiding a battle. If successful, it would not have very materially advanced his operations, further than by the name of a victory; for he could not have pursued a beaten enemy without

removing further from his main object—London. On the other hand, defeat would have been to him irretrievable ruin. His troops, confident in their better discipline and in the skill of their experienced generals, did not require to be convinced of their superiority over their enemy. At all events, there was nothing to justify such a risk. They already took it for granted, that they could conquer whenever they should have occasion to fight.

And now Coventry was again threatened by Prince Rupert. His summons was treated with contempt by the gallant citizens ; intelligence of which being dispatched to Charles, propositions were sent, under the sign manual, ordering the surrender of the town to the Prince, and promising, in return, ‘on the ‘faith of a King,’ protection from plunder, and an act of entire oblivion. To this message, after a general council of the inhabitants, the Mayor and Aldermen sent an answer, conceived in the most respectful terms, but expressing their determination not to surrender their city to any armed force or person coming in the name of the King,

without the concurrent authority of the Parliament ; having, as they said, had experience of the robberies and cruelties of the cavaliers in divers parts of the kingdom. ‘ All which ‘ being seriously considered,’ they declared themselves bound in conscience to God, in loyalty to his Majesty, and in regard for their own safety and honour, and the safety and honour of all who were the dearest to them, ‘ to deny his Majesty’s desires, and to ‘ oppose all those that might in any way endeavour, under pretence of his Majesty’s ‘ commands legally given, to disturb the ‘ peace of the kingdom.’ And that, ‘ having ‘ with all humility presented these lines, as ‘ the perfect copy of their intentions,’ they betake themselves, ‘ every man to his charge, ‘ leaving these particulars to his Majesty’s ‘ consideration *.’

The garrison accordingly prepared themselves for the worst. But, the second day after their last defiance had been dispatched, their spirits were raised and confirmed by the intelligence of Denzil Holles having,

* His Majesty’s Declaration and Proposition, and Answer thereto. Printed for T. West, October 22, 1642.

on the 18th, obliged Lord Digby, at the head of a very superior force, to retire from the neighbourhood of Wolverhampton, after a severe skirmish in which many had fallen on each side. The Parliament's reports magnify this into a great victory against incredible odds, giving an equally incredible account of the killed of Lord Digby's party ; while the King's press, by passing the whole event by in silence, confirms the general fact that the issue was unfavourable to the cavaliers. All that is certain, besides this, is that Digby's brigade in those parts was composed of three regiments, that he endeavoured to force the main road, which was held by Holles's regiment only, and that, after a sharp encounter, he retired upon the King's quarters at Leicester.

Meanwhile the armies were rapidly approaching, and a general engagement was evidently at hand. The joint terrors of the King's name and Rupert's presence having failed to alarm Coventry into an instant surrender, no more time was to be lost by the King. He accordingly abandoned all further attempt upon that city, and left it in his rear, little being to be feared from any annoyance

to be attempted by a weak garrison of undisciplined citizens.

The different divisions of the Parliament's army, meanwhile, moved in a converging line with that of the King's march. Moreover, being less encumbered with useless followers, and with forage and provisions, (the country being generally friendly, and bringing in these things from all sides for their daily consumption,) they advanced with a rapidity which induced the King to abandon the less obstructed course by St. Alban's, and to take, with both columns, the more westerly direction of Southam, in order to avoid the risk of his right flank being gained or passed. And of this there was some danger; for Stratford on Avon, with its bridge, was already occupied by the Parliamentarians. Hampden and Brook had entered it on the 18th; and, on the next morning, with the assistance of the townsmen, had repulsed a severe attack made by two brigades, and had secured the passage of the river. On the 20th the King's advanced guard was before Banbury*.

A little before midnight, on the 21st of

* Lord Essex's Relation.

October, from the road which traverses the brow of Edge Hill, the fires of the Parliament's pickets were descried in the Vale of Redhorse, and, at dawn, the main body of it's army was seen moving in a direction parallel with the King's rear-guard, from the town of Keinton, which it had entered the night before. Here Rupert halted, and sent instant intelligence to the King. Soon after day-break, Charles was on the heights. He pitched his tent on the eastern extremity of the range, resting his right on the Burton Dassett and Wormleighton Hills, his centre posted over Radway, and his left on a steep road leading down from a lone inn, then called, as now, the 'Sun Rising.' That flank was further protected by the difficult country in front of Lord Northampton's house at Compton Wynyate. A stronger position cannot easily be imagined. Here, then, the Parliament army, already fatigued and harassed by forced marches through a deep country, and under orders, at all risks, to stop the King's passage to London, and having, by its late movements, staked its reputation upon this object, found itself suddenly checked.

A feeling of military pride made it, doubtless, desirable to Charles, having a full view of the enemy in order of battle, not to pursue what might have been miscalled a retreating march upon the metropolis. Still, it was apparent that he might, without avoiding a conflict, have waited, with great advantage, the attack of troops who had no choice left them in the selection of ground, and whose whole purpose would be impeded until they might have been able to force him from those commanding heights. Regiment after regiment was seen coming up on the Parliament's side, and forming in front of the town of Keinton, in three lines. Their force, in that field, ready to engage, consisted of ten regiments of foot, forty-two troops of regular horse, and about seven hundred dragoons; in all, between twelve and thirteen thousand men. A detachment of their guns took post on their right, among the enclosures, on a rising ground to the westward of the town, and a little in advance of it, and commanding that part of the field, then open, which is still known by the name of 'the two Battle Farms.' The rest of their small park of

artillery was on their extreme left. But this was very inferior in force to the artillery of the King; for the greater part of the Parliament's train had been left behind, unprovided with draught horses, by the negligence of M. de Boys, their French engineer. They were now brought on, with great exertion and difficulty, but still nearly a day's march in the rear, under the command of Hampden, who, with a brigade, consisting of his own regiment, Colonel Grantham's, Colonel Barkham's, and Lord Rochford's, in all about three thousand infantry, had been appointed to guard them.

A hasty council of war was now called by the King. His army was superior in numbers to that of his enemy, by at least two thousand infantry, and sixteen troops of horse, and in sight of a plain where cavalry might act with eminent advantage. His soldiers were high in spirit, eager to engage, and impatient of delay with an adversary whom they despised. In addition to this, he knew from his scouts that the main body of the Parliament's guns, with a whole brigade, could not be brought into action that day, but might, if

he were to waste many hours more, be made available against him. To all these tempting incentives to a battle there was no consideration to oppose, save that of the absolute uselessness of fighting at all, and the great importance of not delaying the march of at least a portion of his force upon London. But Prince Rupert's temper was peremptory and unmanageable. He commanded the cavalry; and on them the greater share of the day's glory in the plain of Keinton was likely to rest; and Prince Rupert's was a brilliant, but ever a selfish, enthusiasm. He had, only a few days before, received with great contumely a message delivered by Lord Falkland, and had declared that he would acknowledge no orders, in march or in battle, but from the King himself. This, as an insult upon Falkland's office, was treated by him in a tone of sharp but courteous sarcasm, well befitting the lofty spirit of a well-bred gentleman, who keenly resented the Prince's petulance, yet would not allow it to interfere with his own duties, or the publick service*. It forced the King, however, on a new and very

* Clarendon.—Hist. Reb.

inconvenient arrangement*. The Earl of Lindsey, the King's Lieutenant-General, saw that the Prince had thus disclaimed his controul also. To allow the line to be commanded by that headstrong young man, (and somebody must command it in chief,) was impossible. A sort of compromise was therefore attempted. The King proposed that the order of battle should be formed by General Ruthven, who had long served under the Princes Maurice and Henry of Orange in the Netherlands, and for some time in the same army with Rupert himself in Germany. To this Lindsey consented, putting himself, on foot, at the head of the King's Guards, in the centre of the first line; there remaining answerable for the fate of an army drawn out by another, and the whole right wing of which was commanded by a rash man, who would take no orders from him.

The adventurous courage of Rupert gave him an influence over the mind of the King which he had no other quality to justify. Against the counsel of Lindsey, and of se-

* Clarendon—Hist. Reb. Bulstrode's Memoirs.

veral other experienced officers, it was determined not to await the battle in position, but to push forward the two first lines, and meet the attack half way. The morning was bright and cold. The main body of the King's troops had been on the hills all night; the King had joined them in person, from Sir William Chancie's, at Ratott Bridge, and Prince Rupert from the Lord Spencer's, at Wormleighton, where he had rested for a few hours. The army advanced in great pomp; the King himself having first ridden along the lines, clad in steel, and wearing his Star and George on a black velvet mantle over his armour, and a steel cap, covered with velvet, on his head*. He had already addressed his principal officers in his tent, in a brave and eloquent harangue. 'If this day shine
' prosperous unto us,' said he, 'we shall all
' be happy in a glorious victory. Your King
' is both your cause, your quarrel, and your
' captain. The foe is in sight. Now show
' yourselves no malignant parties, but with
' your swords declare what courage and fide-

* Bulstrode's Memoirs.

‘ lity is within you. I have written and de-
‘ clared that I intended always to maintain
‘ and defend the Protestant Religion, the
‘ rights and privileges of Parliament, and the
‘ liberty of the subject; and now I must
‘ prove my words by the convincing argument
‘ of the sword. Let Heaven show his power
‘ by this day’s victory, to declare me just,
‘ and as a lawful, so a loving, King to my
‘ subjects. The best encouragement I can
‘ give you is this: that, come life or death,
‘ your King will bear you company, and ever
‘ keep this field, this place, and this day’s
‘ service, in his grateful remembrance.’

He spoke twice at the head of his troops. His speech to his soldiers, immediately before the battle, was thus given out in print:
‘ Friends and soldiers. I look upon you with
‘ joy to behold so great an army as ever
‘ King of England had in these later times,
‘ standing with high resolutions to defend
‘ your King, the Parliament, and all my loyal
‘ subjects. I thank your loves, offered to
‘ your King, with a desire to hazard your
‘ lives and fortunes with me and in my cause;
‘ freely offered, and that in my urgent neces-

‘sity. I see by you that no father can relin-
‘quish and leave his son—no subject his
‘lawful king; but I attribute this to the just-
‘ness of my cause. *He that made us a King*
‘*will protect us.* We have marched so long
‘in hopes to meet no enemy; we knowing
‘none at whose hands we deserve any oppo-
‘sition. Nor can our sun, shining through
‘the clouds of malignant envy, suffer such
‘an obscurity, but that some influence of
‘my royal authority, *derived from God, whose*
‘*substitute and supreme governor under Christ I*
‘*am,* hath begotten in you a confidence in
‘my intentions. But matters are now not
‘to be declared by words, but by swords.
‘You all think our thoughts. Endeavour to
‘defend our person, while I reign over your
‘affections as well as your persons. Now,
‘therefore, know my resolution is to try the
‘doubtful chance of war, which, with much
‘grief, I must stand to, and endure the ha-
‘zard. I desire not the effusion of blood;
‘but, since Heaven hath so declared that so
‘much preparation hath been made, we must
‘needs accept of this present occasion and
‘opportunity of gaining an honourable vic-

‘ tory, and some addition of glory to our
‘ crown ; since reputation is that which doth
‘ gild over the richest gold, and shall ever be
‘ the endeavour of our whole reign. The
‘ present action of this battle makes me speak
‘ briefly, and yet lovingly and loyally, towards
‘ you, our loyal army I put not my confi-
‘ dence in your strength or number, but con-
‘ fide that, though your King speaks to you,
‘ and that with as much love and affection as
‘ ever King of England did to his army, yet
‘ God, and the justness of our cause, toge-
‘ ther with the love I bear to the whole
‘ kingdom, must give you the best encourage-
‘ ment. In a word, your King bids you all
‘ be courageous, and Heaven make you vic-
‘ torious *.’

At about two o’clock in the afternoon they advanced. The order in which they descended from the hill was this :—Prince Rupert, at the head of the Prince of Wales’s regiment, led the cavalry of the right wing, and Lord Byron the reserve, on the extreme right of which Colonel Washington’s dra-

* Colonel Weston’s Letter. Printed for Richard Johnson, 1642. In Mr. Staunton’s collection.

goons, supported by six hundred regular horse, took possession of some bushes and enclosures. On his left were eight regiments of infantry. The infantry of the centre, in column of six lines, was led by General Ruthen and Sir Jacob Astley; Lord Lindsey, with his son Lord Willoughby, at the head of the royal foot guards, the red coats; and Sir Edmund Verney, carrying the standard, which had been displayed, all the morning, from the hill. Behind these, and a little to the right, the King took post with his guard of pensioners. The cavalry of the left wing was commanded by Lord Wilmot, and consisted of the regiments of Lord Goring and Lord Fielding*. These were supported by Lord Carnarvon at the head of six hundred pikemen and a small body of musqueteers. The reserve was commanded by Lord Digby; and Sir George Lisle's and Colonel Ennis's dragoons lined the hedges and broken ground in advance of the extreme left, as Washing-

* George Baron Fielding, second son to William Earl of Denbigh, who likewise bore arms for the King, and was in the field as a volunteer that day. Basil Viscount Fielding, elder brother to George, had taken part with the Parliament, but was not with the army at Edge Hill.

ton's had done on the right. In the rear of these were the ill-armed and almost undisciplined levies from Wales.

The brave Lord Lindsey's prayer, immediately before the advance, was short and fervent. 'Oh, Lord, thou knowest how busy I must be this day. If I forget thee, do not thou forget me. March on, boys * !'

The Parliamentarians were drawn up in three brigades. The right wing was composed of three regiments of horse, under the orders of Sir John Meldrum, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir William Balfore, with Colonel Richard Fielding's regiment, and some guns in reserve, and supported by musqueteers lining a long hedge, at a right angle with their front. Next to these were the Lord Roberts's and Sir William Constable's infantry. In the centre were the Lord-General's own regiment, and Colonel Ballard's, and Lord Brook's, with Holles's, also infantry, in reserve. The left wing consisted of five regiments of infantry; Lord Wharton's, Lord Mandeville's, Colonel Cholmley's, and Colonel Charles Essex's, with Sir William Fair-

* Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

fax's in reserve. On the extreme flank were a few guns, with twenty-four troops of horse, commanded by Sir James Ramsay, a Scot. Ministers of the Word were seen riding along the ranks as they formed, exhorting the men to do their duty, and fight valiantly*

The action was commenced by the Parliament's guns, which opened from their right flank, and were instantly answered by the whole park of the King's artillery from the centre; the cannonade continuing briskly for some time. The first charge was made by the King's cavalry from his left, which was repulsed; the musqueteers who supported them being also driven back to take refuge behind the second line of pikes. But, on the other wing, their success was very different. The Parliament's line had been weakened here, by extending itself to avoid being outflanked. And, at the commencement of the conflict on this part, Sir Faithful Fortescue, an Irishman, (very unworthy of either of his honourable names,) who commanded a squadron of the Parliament's horse, ordered his men to fire their pistols into the ground, and then gal-

* Viccars's Parl. Chron.

loped with them into Prince Rupert's lines ; where, however, accident gave them the punishment they deserved : for, being mistaken for enemies by those to whom they were deserting, they received a fire which instantly laid twenty-five of them dead*.

And now Prince Rupert, charging with the whole of the cavalry of the King's right wing, broke through, and entirely routed, Sir James Ramsay's horse, who, enfeebled and dismayed, were making an irresolute attempt to gain the advantage of the hill. Even Colonel Essex's regiment, who had moved up to support them, also broke and fled. The battle, on that part, soon became a chase, though Essex did all that he could to rally the flying troops, and Holles and Ballard advanced gallantly from their right to cover their ground. The side of the hill, and, soon afterwards, the plain beneath it, were covered with nearly the whole of the Parliament's left wing in complete disorder, and Rupert's horse in close and unsparing pursuit. ' The Lord Mandeville's men,' says an eye-witness, ' would not stand the field ; though his Lordship be-

* Clarendon—Hist. Reb. Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs.

‘seeched, nay cudgelled, them. No, nor yet
‘the Lord Wharton’s men. Sir William Fair-
‘fax, his regiment, except some eighty of
‘them, used their heeles*.’ Nor did Cholm-
ley’s behave better. Cavalry endeavouring
to force their flight through the infantry who
were ordered to support them, the infantry
scarcely better disposed to stand, but unable
to fly before the rapid torrent of Rupert’s
charge,—all were in one confused mass, and
not a face of a private soldier fronted that
of his enemy, except Lord Brook’s purple
coats, Colonel Ballard’s grey coats, and Den-
zil Holles’s gallant red coats, who, again op-
posed to superiour numbers, and under the
severer trial of witnessing the cowardice of
their comrades, had nobly rushed across the
advancing enemy. But the King’s cavalry
had already swept by with an impetuosity
which infantry, forming hastily, and from
a flank, could not withstand. But these brave
regiments, though overborne, rallied, and at
once engaged and checked the whole infantry
of the King’s right and centre. Meanwhile,

* Special Newes from the Army at Warwicke since the fight;
sent from a minister of good note. In Mr. Staunton’s Collection.

the pursuit lasted across the open fields for three miles, up to Keinton itself, with tremendous slaughter. But here Rupert's triumph ended; and he incurred the reproach of allowing himself to be detained in an inglorious work of plunder for upwards of an hour, while the King's infantry was engaged, and worsted for lack of his support. The principal part of the baggage of the Parliament's army was lying in waggons in the streets of Keinton. Few were left to guard it, and the horses had been all moved forward to assist with the artillery, which was in action. The pillage of these now wholly fixed the attention of the Prince, who thus delayed his return to the battle, and gave his soldiers an example of insubordination which it was one of his most urgent duties to discountenance and repress*. The alarm was given to him, while thus employed, that the enemy was again forming, reinforced by fresh troops, on the outskirts of the town. The ground on

* It is said of the Prince, that, on his return to the field of battle, finding the royal army in confusion, and the King himself in great danger, he told him that he 'could give a good account of the enemy's horse.' 'Ay, by G—d,' exclaimed a cavalier, 'and of their carts too!'

which he rallied and drew up his cavalry to charge them again, is still known as ' Prince Rupert's Head-land,' and gives it's name to a farm about a mile to the eastward of Keinton. But it was now too late. Hampden, who had left Stratford-on-Avon the evening before, had pushed on with Colonel Grantham's regiment, and his own green coats, and five guns, with which the men had, all night, toiled through the deep roads, leaving behind Colonel Barkham's and Lord Rochfort's regiments to bring up the rest of the artillery and great store of ammunition, which did not arrive till the day after. And now the two regiments, led by Hampden, were seen hastening across the enclosures to support the mangled squadrons of flying horse. Dragging their guns out of the lanes along which they had advanced, they formed between the pursued and the pursuers, and opened their fire upon Rupert, killing several of his men and horses, and, though unable to pursue, obliging him, in his turn, to recross the plain in great confusion.

Rupert, on his return, found the King's battle wearing a very different aspect from

that under which he had left it. Holles's, and Ballard's, and Brook's, regiments, having made good the ground abandoned by the fugitives, had now poured in from the flank upon the main body of the King, which, at the same time, was charged in front by the rest of the Parliament's infantry, headed by the Earl of Essex in person. The gentlemen and officers of the cavalry, instead of flying with their men, had joined to strengthen the centre. And Colonel Charles Essex, having striven in vain to rally his craven regiment, returned to die bravely as a volunteer in more honourable company. He, and the Lord St. John, met their death in this charge.

The Lord-General's life guard of gentlemen, to whom these gallant persons had joined themselves, first broke the King's guards, who were afterwards 'abundantly smitten down by 'the orange coats, by Sir William Constable's 'blue coats, the Lord Roberts's red coats, and 'the Lord Say's blue coats, led by Sir John 'Meldrum.' And the cavalry from the Parliament's right, under Balfore, Stapleton, and the Lord Willoughby of Parham, and composed of the troops of Hazlerigge, Lord Brook, Lord

Grey, Gunter, Draper, Temple, Long, Fiennes, Luke, Cromwell, Hunt, and Urrey, now rushed in furiously. At this time was slain Sir Edmund Verney, and the royal standard, which he bore, was taken by Mr. Young, one of Sir William Constable's ensigns, and delivered by Lord Essex to his own secretary, Chambers, who rode by his side. Elated by the prize, the secretary rode about, more proudly than wisely, waving it round his head. Whereupon, in the confusion, one of the King's officers, Captain, Smith of the Lord John Stewart's troop, seeing the standard captured, threw round him the orange scarf of a fallen Parliamentarian, and, riding in among the lines of his enemies, told the secretary that 'it were 'shame that so honourable a trophy of war 'should be borne by a penman.' To which suggestion the credulous guardian of this honourable trophy consenting surrendered it to the disguised cavalier, who galloped back with it amain, and, before evening, received knight-hood under its shadow.

But the royal army was now so severely pressed in front and on its left, menaced also on its right by a body of horse which had

regained that rising ground from which Ramsay's brigade had, early in the fight, been driven, that Charles was vehemently importuned to leave the field. But this his ardent courage, and the pledge which he had given to his troops, to abide with them for life or death, would not permit. He would have charged in person with his reserves of two regiments and his band of pensioners, but from this his household officers withheld him. And now the evening was setting in, and, as the authorized narrative on the King's part says, the darkness made it difficult to distinguish friends from foes*. No one of the accounts published by authority on either side is throughout true, either as to the details, or as to the general result, of this famous battle. To believe them on both sides would be to conclude that an hour more of daylight would have blessed both armies with a sure and signal victory. The truth appears to be that both had already suffered too severely, and

* The account of the battle is taken from Clarendon, Viccars, Bulstrode, Warwick, Whitelocke, Heath's Chronicle, Ludlow's Memoirs, Charles Pym's and Nathaniel Fiennes's Letters, other published tracts and letters, principally in Mr. Staunton's collection, the Parliament's Diurnals, and the Oxford Intelligencers.

that the condition of each was too perilous, for either to be eager to renew the conflict. The King's officers were dismayed at the sudden and unexpected chance which had placed the safety of the whole army in hazard, after they had seen nearly one half of the host of their enemies routed, and had firmly and surely believed the day to be already their own. Rupert's men and horses were too much fatigued for another charge. On the other side, what remained together of the Parliament's cavalry were weak in numbers, and equally spent with the exertion of a long march and a hard and doubtful contest, and with the effects of exposure for many nights to wet and cold. Moreover they felt only the extent of their own disadvantage; they knew not that their enemy's plight was no less severe; and they looked with distrust towards the issue of another attack on the part of the more numerous, better disciplined, and, perhaps, more confident, troops of the Prince. But the reinforcement of the two regiments had now come up with Hampden. Lord Essex saw that the higher ground was still in the King's hands. He called a council of his principal

officers, and he listened mainly, as he had ever done, to the advice of the cautious Dalbier. A general who, during an unfinished battle, puts to a council the question of again advancing or not, may be presumed to have a leaning of opinion towards the less adventurous course. Resolute under difficulty and repulse, it was when success was to be improved that Essex was timid and indecisive. In vain did Hampden, Grantham, Holles, and Brook, urge him to renew the attack. Hampden was for instantly pressing forward, and endeavouring to force the King's position; and so to relieve Banbury, and throw himself at once on the contested line of the great London road. And Ludlow and Whitelocke assert, and Warwick and Clarendon confess, that if this course had been adopted, the King's condition might have become hazardous in the extreme.

Of the loss of men on either side no truth is to be gained from any of the authorized statements taken separately. According to one of the accounts sent to the Parliament, and published 'to prevent false informations,' the King lost in slain about three thousand, the Parliament three hundred. According

to that which issued from the King's press at Oxford, the amount of the King's loss is doubtful, but 'this is certain, that the royal army 'slew five Parliamentarians for every one 'slain of their's.' To attempt to balance these would be misspent labour. The Parliamentarians seem to have lost rather more in private soldiers, the King certainly more in persons of distinction. Of these, besides Sir Edmund Verney, were slain the Lord Bernard Stewart and the Lord Aubigny. Among a number of prisoners of note, the brave old General, Lord Lindsey, was taken, but mortally wounded. His son, the Lord Willoughby, in vain rushed to the rescue. He had only the sad comfort of performing the last filial duties: Lindsey died in the Lord-General's coach, on the way to Warwick Castle, under whose portcullis his corpse entered side by side with that of his youthful and gallant enemy, Charles Essex*.

A tolerably correct judgment is to be formed

* In the Appendix is subjoined a reprint of a scarce and curious tract in Mr. Staunton's collection. It is not altogether uninteresting to speculate on the causes and extent of human credulity, the more remarkable always when not excited by the conflicts of political or religious prejudice. The world abounds with histories of præternatural appearances the most utterly in-

of the conduct and issue of the Edge Hill fight, only by comparing together the conflicting accounts, which are abundant. On the whole, the fairest, and the most consistent with each other and with probability, are Nathaniel Fiennes's, (which, written at the time, deserves credit for its moderation,) and Edmund

credible, supported by testimony the most undeniable. Here is a ghost story of the most preposterous sort. Two great armies of ghosts, for the mere purpose, as it seems, of making night hideous to the innocent and scared townsmen of Keinton, fighting over again the battle of Edge Hill, which had been decided, as far as their mortal efforts could decide it, more than two months before. Yet is this story attested upon the oath of three officers, men of honour and discretion, and of 'three other gentle-men of credit,' selected by the King as commissioners to report upon these prodigies, and to tranquillize and disabuse the alarms of a country town; adding, moreover, in confirmation, their testimony to the identity of several of the illustrious dead, as seen among the unearthly combatants who had been well known to them, and who had fallen in the battle. A well-supported imposture, or a stormy night on a hill-side, might have acted on the weakness of a peasantry in whose remembrance the terrors of the Edge Hill fight were still fresh; but it is difficult to imagine how the minds of officers, sent there to correct the illusion, could have been so imposed upon. It will also be observed, that no inference is attempted by the witnesses to assist any notion of a judgment or warning favourable to the interests or passions of their own party. It is a pure, inexplicable working of fancy upon the minds of shrewd and well-educated men, in support of the superstitions of timid and vulgar ones, who had, for several nights, been brought to consent to the same belief. For the story, see Appendix E. The solution of it must be left to the ingenuity of the reader.

Ludlow's, and Sir Philip Warwick's, which have the best chance of being dispassionate, having been written many years after the event, and not, as it appears, in a spirit violently disposed to favour either party. Clarendon's, if compared with the others, or even with the map, will be found to be, in parts, extremely incorrect.

Seldom has ill success been left so nearly balanced between two conflicting armies after so great a battle. 'Victor uterque fuit, victus 'uterque fuit,' says Sir Richard Bulstrode. And, therefore, both returned solemn thanks to God as for a victory. Both lost guns, stores, and colours. The one remained master of the field of battle, and the other kept the London road, the gaining or retaining possession of which had been the only reasonable motive for fighting at all. And, eventually, both retreated; the one forgetting that the way to the metropolis was open to his enemy, and the other, before whom it was open, neglecting to march upon it. Of this neglect on the King's part there appears to be but one probable solution; of which hereafter.

In the original papers of James II., collected by Carte, it is thus stated. ‘It was of fatal consequence that he did not march to London, which, in the fright, would not have cost him a stroke. Ruthven, the day after the battle, desired the King to send him with most of the horse and three thousand foot to London, where he would get before Essex, seize Westminster, drive away the rebel part of the Parliament, and maintain it till the King came up with the rest of the army. But this was opposed by the advice of many of the council. They were afraid that the King should return by conquest; and said so openly. They persuaded the King to advance so slowly to London, that Essex got there before him; and the Parliament, ready before to fly, took heart.’ Of the King’s officers, (besides the Lord Willoughby,) Colonels Lunsford, Vavasour, Stradling, Rodney, and Munro, were taken prisoners. The roads were covered with the wounded of both armies. ‘It would be a charitable worke,’ says ‘a minister of good note,’ in his letter to the Lord Mayor

of London *, ‘ if some rich citizen would
‘ drop the silver oyle of his purse into the
‘ wounds of the sick and maimed souldiers
‘ who have soe freely hazarded their lives
‘ for the gospel.’

The King marched back with a great part of his army, the evening after the battle, to the position from which he had that day descended ; and, from thence, further up, to the Wormleighton Hills, lying out, that night, in a hard and piercing frost. The main body of the Parliamentarians also retired from the bleak plain to the ‘ warmer quarter’ of Keinton ; but leaving a brigade of observation on the advanced position which they had won on the eastern extremity of the battle. ‘ This gave ‘ Essex,’ says Sir Philip Warwick, ‘ a title ‘ unto the victory of that day.’ On the next morning, both armies remained for several hours opposed in order of battle, as if again to engage ; but neither was disposed to begin the attack. Charles sent a flag of truce, borne by Clarencieux King at Arms, with a proclamation, dated ‘ from our Court on ‘ Edge Hill,’ offering to Lord Essex, and to

* Mr. Staunton's Collection.

such of his army as should surrender, a free pardon. To this, the General, after strictly prohibiting the herald from tampering with the soldiers, returned for answer, that he should take the instructions of Parliament on his Majesty's gracious offer. About sunset, 'for what reason,' says Ludlow, 'I know not,' and indeed without any apparent motive, he began a retreat on Warwick. Again Hampden interposed with a remonstrance, and strongly advised a rapid advance, to harass the retiring King, to restore the spirits of the midland counties, and save London. He volunteered to lead the advance himself, with his fresh and eager brigade. But Dalbier, in whom the methodical system of the German science was grafted upon what is supposed to be the characteristick caution of his native land, supported Essex's inclination to be content with the fame of a doubtful victory.

Had the King's position been forced, and his army in consequence driven to a precipitate retreat, it would have been extremely difficult for him to save even a remnant of his army. He had no point on which he could have safely retired. Oxford was wholly unfortified.

Banbury lay in his way with a garrison, which, though powerless against his army when together and unembarrassed with any other enemy, would have been a formidable obstacle to him in retreat ; and the nearer he approached to London, the more unfriendly was the country through which he must have passed. The extreme west of England would have been the only secure refuge open to his troops ; and so long a retreat, encumbered as he was with so much of the useless equipage of royal pomp, would have been difficult and hazardous.

His ministers and servants of state, with their followers of all sorts, above twelve hundred in number, accompanied him,—not bearing arms, but making larger demands for subsistence and conveniences than any number of military officers of the highest rank.

Sir William Dugdale was present in the action, as Norroy King at Arms, at the head of a numerous body of heralds, with each of whom was a retinue of pursuivants and horseboys. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, then twelve and ten years old, were on

the hill. They were placed under the care of Dr. William Harvey, afterwards so famous for his discoveries concerning the circulation of the blood, and then Physician in Ordinary to the King. During the action, forgetful both of his position and of his charge, and too sensible of the value of time to a philosophick mind to be cognizant of bodily danger, he took out a book, and sat him down on the grass to read, till, warned by the sound of the bullets that grazed and whistled round him, he rose, and withdrew the Princes to a securer distance*.

The first notice received in London of the Edge Hill fight was a very doubtful one. Beacons had been established along the line of communication between the Parliament and its army. In the alarm of the King's advance from Shrewsbury, Essex had received orders from the two Houses to give intelligence by firing the nearest beacon, whenever he might overtake the King and arrest his progress. The light by night, or the smoke by day, was to be the signal of his success in

* Aubrey's Letters and Lives of Eminent Men.

having brought the King to action, which the country people, on the different heights, up to London itself, were by proclamation directed to repeat. When the darkness had set in upon the hostile armies, and the fight was at an end, a small party of the Parliament's troops, who had gained the summit of the Beacon Hill, near Burton Dasset, gave the signal. Tradition says that some shepherds, on a part of the high ridge over Ivinghoe, on the borders of Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire, and at a distance of at least thirty miles in a direct line from Edge Hill, saw a twinkling light to the northward, and, upon communication with their minister, 'a godly and well-affected person,' fired the beacon there also, which was seen at Harrow on the Hill, and from thence at once carried on to London; and that thus the news was given along a line of more than sixty miles, by the assistance of only two intermediate fires. But this mode of communication told the story very imperfectly, and most disastrous rumours soon followed. Fear is a fleet messenger. A party of the routed cavalry from the Parliament's left, contriving in the con-

fusion to slip past the opposite flank of the King's army, fled forward through Banbury. They were accompanied by Ramsay, their commander, whose published defence delivered before a court-martial, (to the injury of his memory a very imperfect one,) is among the collection of broadsheets preserved in the British Museum.

These fugitives, offering in their haste and panick but a sorry sample of the condition of the Parliament's army, spread the news of an entire defeat, as rapidly and as far as their own and their horses' speed would serve. This unhappy report that the battle was irretrievably lost, reached London on the 24th, not many hours after the first intelligence, by signal, of the encounter. It was not till the pay after that Lord Wharton and Strode arrived at the doors of the two Houses where the Parliament was sitting; and, almost at the same time, came another official statement, from Holles, Stapleton, Ballard, Balfore, Meldrum, and Charles Pym, to refresh the drooping confidence of the Parliament and the citizens with intelligence of a complete victory; modestly and well written, as

to the account of the battle ; but, as to the claim of a victory, only one degree less untrue than the alarm had been of an entire defeat.

But the fact of the King being between Lord Essex's army and the metropolis was one which no 'special relation' had the power to disguise. The dismay of the citizens was intense.* But their preparations for defence were rapid, vigorous, and resolute. The shops were shut up. The people thronged forth into the streets to close the barricades ; every where the train-bands beat to arms and mustered in Finsbury Fields, Hyde Park, and the village of Pancras, to take their orders to occupy the posts before their city, or to put themselves in march to oppose the King on his road. Directions the most positive were dispatched by repeated expresses to the Lord-General, to endeavour, at all hazards, whether forcing his way by a second battle, or turning the King's flank by manœuvre, to throw himself across the main road, or, if that were impracticable, into London itself*.

* Speciall Passages.

Fortunately for the Parliament, the King's movements now became as disconnected and as dilatory as those of his adversary had been. He trifled away his time in taking and occupying several small places, such as Banbury and Broughton Castle, the last of which held out for a whole day with a garrison of only one troop of horse, and consumed another day in settling articles of capitulation ; and, after passing some few days more at Oxford, he moved onwards, resting his right flank, which was not menaced, on the Thames, and leaving his left, on which Essex was marching, uncovered, with two great roads open. It is impossible to believe that this could have been oversight. Charles himself had military talents of no mean order. He had begun to display them before the battle of Edge Hill, and he gave very decisive proofs of them in his conduct on many subsequent occasions during the war. He was besides surrounded by experienced officers. The only probable mode of accounting for it must be by referring it to the political difficulties which were uppermost in the minds of some of his advisers. All who had interests of their own

to serve with the adverse party, or terms to make with the King for such of their friends as had engaged themselves in it,—all who feared the lengths to which, in sudden and decisive success, the King might be led by passions which they had not influence enough over him to controul, those too who vainly thought that a more reasonable accommodation might be come to by treaty, while the issue of the war was yet in part uncertain,—the timid, and the temporizing,—were all alarmed at the prospect of their master obtaining at once the power of dictating peace upon his own terms.

Nor is it improbable that Falkland himself may have deprecated such success. For his well established favour with Charles was yet incapable of standing against such counsel as Rupert's or Digby's would have been if given among such scenes as must have followed the triumphal entry into London or the forcing of her defences by storm. This, indeed, is hinted intelligibly enough by several contemporary writers, among whom is Clarendon himself.

But whatever was the cause of Charles's

conduct at this crisis, the energy and genius of Essex were roused equally by the reproaches of the Parliament and of some of his own officers, and by the inactivity of the King. He suddenly advanced upon Northampton, engaging the King's attention by threatening his flank with a detached force in the country about Brackly and Aynho; Hampden and his friend and colleague Arthur Goodwyn leading the advanced guard.

The Lieutenants of Buckinghamshire, who were raising and marshalling the volunteers of that county, received this letter from the Lord Wharton* :

‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ It greeues my heart thatt your County
 ‘ should be putt into soe g^t distraction. My
 ‘ L^{ds} haue considered of your letter, and are
 ‘ very desirous to doe any thing for the pre-
 ‘ seruation of your county. They conceaue
 ‘ itt most for the seruice of the county and
 ‘ the safety of yourselves and the forces now
 ‘ raysted thatt you retire a little neerer to Ux-

* Among Mr. Grenvil's papers.

‘ bridge, which is appoynted to bee the ren-
 ‘ dezvous for a conuoy of g^t strength to bee
 ‘ sent downe with diuerse things to my L^d of
 ‘ Essex; with which if you thinke good to
 ‘ fall in, and to joyne unto my L^d of Essex
 ‘ his army, the state will entertayne you, and
 ‘ allow such pay as all other officers and sol-
 ‘ diers haue.

‘ My L^{ds} doe butt propound all this to your
 ‘ consideration, leauing you in euery part of
 ‘ itt to resoluē of whatt you finde more fitt for
 ‘ your occasion to your owne judgement. I
 ‘ haue spouke to my L^d of Warwicke for some
 ‘ officers for you, and ame in hope to preuayle
 ‘ therein.

‘ I ame

‘ Your most affectionate frend

‘ to serve you,

‘ P. WHARTON.’

‘ 30 Octob. 1642. London.’

‘ For Collonell Bullstrood and the

‘ rest of the deputy lieutenants

‘ of the county of Bucks

‘ att Amersham.’

During the march, Hampden wrote thus
 from Northampton to encourage them :—

‘To my noble friends, Colonel Bulstrode,
‘ Captain Grenvil, Captain Tyrell, Cap-
‘ tain West, or any of them.

‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ The army is now at Northampton,
‘ moving every day nearer to you. If you
‘ disband not, we may be a mutual succour to
‘ each other ; but, if you disperse, you make
‘ yourselves and your country a prey.

‘ You shall hear daily from

‘ Your servant,

‘ JOHN HAMPDEN.’

‘ Northampton, Oct. 31.’

‘ I wrote this enclosed letter yesterday,
‘ and thought it would have come to you then ;
‘ but the messenger had occasion to stay till
‘ this morning. We cannot be ready to march
‘ till to-morrow ; and then, I believe, we shall.
‘ I desire you will be pleased to send to me
‘ again, as soon as you can, to the army, that
‘ we may know what posture you are in, and
‘ then you will hear which way we go. You
‘ shall do me a favour to certify me what you
‘ hear of the King’s forces ; for I believe your

‘ intelligence is better from Oxford and those
‘ parts than our’s can be.

‘ Your humble servant,

‘ JOHN HAMPDEN.’

‘ Northampton, Nov, 1, 1642.’

One of Mr. Grenvil’s informants, just returned from Oxford, where he had lately witnessed, with some discomfort, the execution of a spy, writes to him thus :—

‘ Right Wor^{full},

‘ Upon the motion of your man Cherry, I
‘ give you to understand that I, beinge at Oxon,
‘ 9^{ber} 2^d, warned by a warrant from his Ma^{tie}
‘ amongst all ministers, freeholders, trades-
‘ men, and men of estate in Oxon shire, sawe
‘ his Ma^{tie} sitting in Christ chch hall; prince
‘ Robert was gone before to Abingdon with
‘ 510 men. The Kinge intends for London
‘ wth all speede. Redinge must be inhu-
‘ manly plundered. One Blake, or Blake-
‘ well, I know not whether, was this day
‘ hanged, drawen, and quartered, in Oxon, for
‘ rec^d 50^{lb} a weeke from y^e Parl^t for intelli-
‘ gence, he beinge Priuy Chamberlayne to

‘ Prince Rob^t. Wee were in Oxon streets under
 ‘ pole-axes, the cavaliers soe out-braved it.
 ‘ The K^t horse are their, with 7000 dra-
 ‘ gooners. The foote I knowe not, saue that
 ‘ Colonell Salisbury, (my countryman,) hath
 ‘ 1200 poore Welch vermins, the offscowringe
 ‘ of the nation. Dr. Hood remembers his best
 ‘ respects to you;* but groanes for rent.
 ‘ He is much afraid of your safety. He
 ‘ prayes for you. Oxonshire was sent for to
 ‘ contribute to his Ma^{ties} necessity. Little
 ‘ helpe (God knowes). They pillage ex-
 ‘ treamey about Oxon. Whole teames taken
 ‘ away, euen of y^e E. of - - -’s man Bigge of
 ‘ Staunton. Soe much happines to your wors^p,
 ‘ as to

‘ Your oblidged seruant,

‘ ROB. EVANS.

‘ Wootton, 9^{ber} 3rd, 1642.

‘ To the Right Wor^{full} Rich. Grenvil,
 ‘ Esq.; High Sheriffe of Bucks,
 ‘ these present.’

On the day on which Hampden’s letter
 was written to the Buckinghamshire Lieu-
 tenancy, encouraging them with the assur-

* Warden of New College. Mr. Grenvil held some large
 farms, near Wotton, under that college.

ance of speedy support, and exhorting them to hold out manfully for the defence of their county, until the succour should arrive, a severe skirmish took place at Aylesbury, in which a part of his own regiment and Colonel Grantham's, supported by six troops of horse under Sir William Balfore, repulsed a very superiour force, led by Prince Rupert in person. Strong parties had been sent forth from Banbury and Oxford, to collect forage and drive in cattle for the King's army, to watch the march of Essex's army, to hover on his flank, and hinder his communications with the metropolis. The small garrison of new raised militia at Aylesbury had been moved to some quarter which was more closely threatened, and the town, and the rich pastures of the vale which surrounds it, left unprotected. Thither Prince Rupert marched with a force of some thousands of horse and foot, and, after some days, passed in securing for the King's use much of the produce of the vale and despoiling and laying waste much more than he secured, entered and possessed himself of the town. Here, after one day more of free-quar-

ter in Aylesbury, during which the inhabitants were made to suffer all sorts of outrage from his soldiers, he received intelligence of the approach of a brigade of the Parliament's troops from Stony Stratford. Rupert, probably afraid of attempting a defence within the walls of a place, however well adapted by its situation for defence, where the townsmen were all his enemies, and having in his front a country over which his cavalry could act with great advantage, left there but a troop of horse and two companies of foot, and marched out with all the rest of his force to meet the advancing enemy. But he had not gone further than the brook, about half a mile to the northward of the town, where there was then no passage but a bad ford, swollen by the rains, when he found himself checked by Balfore's horse and foot, in column, on the opposite bank. After the first volley or two, Rupert charged across the ford, and, breaking through Balfore's two first lines of infantry, plunged into the centre of his horse, who were flanked on the right by Charles

Pym's troop. And here a sharp and desperate conflict began. Sir Lewis Dives came up with the Prince's reserve, and Captain Herbert Blanchard with Balfore's. The musquetry of the foot, the carbines and petronels of the cavalry, swords, and pole-axes, all doing the work of death, and the soldiers of all arms mixed and fighting in one close and furious throng. It lasted thus but a few minutes : the King's troops were driven back across the stream, and Rupert rallied on the other side, only to lose more men from the fire, and to receive a charge in return, which drove him back in confusion towards the town. In vain did the troops within hurry down to his support. The townsmen rushed forth upon their rear, with whatever arms haste and fury could supply to them, and Rupert with difficulty began his retreat towards Thame, before the mingled troops and populace, who, however, after slaughtering the hindmost for above a mile, did not venture further to pursue among the enclosures a force still superiour to their own. In this action, some hundreds of Rupert's men fell, and of the Parliamentarians

above ninety, according to the confession of the report published in London*.

In a letter from Woburn, on the 4th of November, the Lord-General desired the Deputy-Lieutenants of Buckinghamshire to march all their train-bands, horse and foot, to St. Albans, to join his army there on the next day, promising protection if the King should traverse their county, but calling upon them to strengthen his force for the defence of London, if his march should be pursued in that direction †.

It was soon evident, however, that London was the King's object. The advanced guard, under Prince Rupert, was quartered at Maidenhead, and a strong picket at Colnbrook. With all dispatch, therefore, Lord Essex proceeded to the metropolis, which he entered two days after. There he was received with every mark of gratitude and honour, the

* Good and joyfull newes out of Buckinghamshire—Dr. Munnell's Letter. Some of the remains of this skirmish were discovered a few years ago, by the labourers who were digging pits for gravel, in a field at Holman's Bridge, near the old ford. More than two hundred skeletons were found buried in the small space which was opened; among which, many appeared, from the manner in which they were laid, to have been those of officers.

† Mr. Grenvil's papers.

thanks of the two Houses being voted to him, and a sum of 5000*l.*, in testimony of approbation of his conduct at Edge Hill*.

Holles, with his regiment, was quartered at Brentford, and Hampden in the neighbourhood of Uxbridge. Meanwhile, two ships of war were brought up the Thames, as high as the bridge, and a division of gun-boats moored off Westminster†.

And now the Houses voted that the Earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, and four members of the Commons, should act as commissioners to treat with the King for peace.

On the morning of Thursday, the 10th of November, the commissioners set forth, and, at Colnbrook were met by Sir Peter Killegrew, with news that the King was on horseback coming into the town with his artillery from Maidenhead. In Colnbrook they waited to receive him. Having read the petition, the King bespoke them courteously. He said that they could not expect a present answer to a petition of so great importance; yet that he would deliver it in part the next day, and send it by a special messenger to Parliament.

* Special passages.

† Ibid.

On Friday morning both houses met, and, having received the report of their commissioners, resolved to sit that afternoon to await the signification of his Majesty's further pleasure. The promised message arrived not, but, instead, reports of hasty warrants by the King, violently enforced, requiring the inhabitants of the country round Maidenhead instantly to supply means of transport for guns and stores, and horses for a remount to his cavalry. On Saturday, however, the answer was brought by the Earl of Northumberland, in which the King called God to witness his great desire of peace, and, in order to avoid further bloodshedding, offered to treat at Windsor, or wherever else he might be. This was received with great demonstrations of joy. It was considered as no less than saving London from the attempt of an infuriated army to carry it by storm, and as a sure earnest of the King's disposition to grant fair terms of peace. But, on that very morning, while the King's answer was before the Houses, he was in full march to the execution of a foul and cruel act of treachery. He marched during a treaty, and while the other party were actually reading his mes-

sage of readiness to listen to terms of peace. Vainly does Clarendon essay to clear Charles of this ineffaceable charge. He states him to have sent, some days after, a vindication of himself in a message to Parliament, in which he told them of the ‘ Earl of Essex’s ‘ drawing out his forces towards him, and ‘ possessing those quarters about him, and almost hemming him in after the time that the ‘ Commissioners were sent to him with the ‘ Petition*.’ But Clarendon himself shows that this advance of Essex’s, with which, by a confusion of dates, the King artfully reproaches the Parliament, took place after the attack had been made on the Parliament’s quarters at Brentford; and he moreover admits that ‘ the Houses were so well satisfied ‘ with the answer their Committee had brought ‘ from the King, and with their report of his ‘ Majesty’s clemency and gracious reception ‘ of them, that they had sent order to their ‘ forces “ that they should not exercise any ‘ act of hostility towards the King’s forces ;” ‘ and at the same time dispatched a messenger to acquaint his Majesty therewith,

* Clarendon Hist. Reb.

‘ and to desire “ that there might be the like
‘ forbearance on his part*.” ’

At day-break, the morning being unusually misty, and the Parliament’s pickets reposing under the security of a flag of truce which had passed their lines, eight regiments of the King’s foot, and twenty troops of horse, with six guns, were dispatched from Colnbrook to Sion, and, finding only Holles’s regiment in the town of Brentford, broke in upon their quarters. For three hours the fight was maintained by this small unsupported force, occupying the houses and disputing each street; untill Brook and Hampden came in from their cantonments to the sound of the firing. The contest became more general, though still against fearful odds. Five times did Brook and Hampden charge the streets, to endeavour to open a retreat for this brave and suffering regiment who had so desperately maintained themselves. But the King’s troops having, in part, made good their advance through the town, now invested it, attacking on all sides with horse, foot, and artillery. No hope remained but to hold out

* Clarendon. Hist. Reb.

till succour might arrive from London. Towards evening, Lord Essex was seen advancing from that direction with the train bands of the City in brave array, having received the news of the struggle which was going on as they were assembled for exercise in Chelsea Fields. Still, the brigade under the Parliamentary colonels within the town remained surrounded. They maintained the fight in the streets, having held the post obstinately till the arrival of Essex; and now, oppressed by numbers, and their ammunition spent, the remnant of this gallant little force threw themselves into the Thames, where many were drowned; but the greater part were enabled, some by the help of boats and barges, and some by swimming down the stream, to rejoin their friends, who covered the bank. Supported by the Earl and the train bands, they again advanced, and in sufficient strength to beat the King's troops through the town, who had occupied it for some hours, and to pursue them for several miles in the dark, as long as they could see the glimmer of their matches*.

* Special Passages. England's Memorable Accidents. Clarendon. Hist. Reb. Ludlow's Mem. Mrs. Hutchinson.

During this action, the King was at Hounslow, sending orders to his regiments from time to time, to push on at all risks, and without delay, to London *

On the next morning the whole army of the Parliament, having arrived from London, joined their train bands and other troops who had been engaged the evening before, and took up their ground on Turnham Green, in force about twenty-four thousand horse and foot. Orders were given that two regiments of horse, and four of foot, should march by Acton and Osterley Park towards Hounslow to the rear of the King's army, which had now moved from its different quarters about Kingston, and was drawn up on the heaths; while Essex, with the three great divisions that remained, was to attack them in front.

Hampden was detached to lead the van of

* In this action, John Lilburn was taken, among other prisoners, by the King, and, being removed to Oxford, was tried before Judge Heath for his life. The manner of his defence of himself at law upon this trial, was in accordance with his deportment on other occasions. It was resolute and fearless. But his death was resolved upon, till delayed by a message from Lord Essex, who threatened the execution of three prisoners in the hands of the Parliament, for every one of the Parliament's officers executed by the King.

the infantry, next to the horse. But he had not proceeded above a mile, when, in consequence of one of those changes of counsel so often fatal to Essex's success in the moment of advantage, the whole plan was abandoned, and Hampden was recalled.

The troops remained under arms for many hours, facing the King's lines, and occasionally advancing towards them. While the general was debating in another council of war whether he should fall on, the King drew off his ordnance and tumbrils, and began to retire. Lord Essex, whether owing to his besetting vice of over-caution when rapid and resolute action was required, or whether deceived by false information respecting those troops of the King who had been on the Surrey side the day before, had sent three thousand men across a bridge of boats between Battersea and Fulham, to dislodge the cavaliers, after they had already passed over at Kingston to join their main army*.

Thus weakened, and made aware of his mistake by the encreasing length of the lines

* Speciall passages, &c. from 8th to 15th November.

opposed to him, he paused. The Earl of Holland, a man of neither courage nor fidelity, busied himself at this moment to work upon Lord Essex's irresolution, exaggerating to him the amount of the King's force, and advising him not to fight until the wing which had crossed the river should return. Dalbier again was at his side. Again Hampden's urgent remonstrance was over-ruled. Skippon, who, at the head of his London Train Bands, and jealous of their fame, thirsted for the occasion of leading them forward now to their first encounter, joined eagerly with Hampden in imploring Essex at once to rush on upon the King, and, if they should fail to rout him at the first onset, to hang upon his march, to enter every town in action with his rear guard, and not to quit him till they had destroyed his army, and thus brought the war to a conclusion, or at least had so weakened him as to put beyond question his further projects for that winter. Instead of this, not a blow was struck. For the second time, the great occasion of decisive success was lost; and the King was allowed, unmolested, to retreat on

Colnbrook, and, having passed two days at Hampton Court, from thence, by the way of Reading, to Oxford*.

* Whitelocke's Memorials. Warwick's and Ludlow's Memoirs. Perfect Diurnal. Continuation of Speciall and Remarkable Occurrences. England's Memorable Accidents. Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs. Clarendon. Hist. Reb.

PART THE TENTH.

From December 1642, to June 1643.

Hampden and Urrie take Reading by assault—Hampden arranges the plan of union of the six associated counties—Parliament's troops press upon the King's quarters at Oxford—Lord Wentworth attacks High Wycombe, and is repulsed—Essex retires—King's successes in divers parts—Queen lands in England—Reading re-entered by the King's troops—Hampden and Mr. Richard Grenvil repulsed from Brill—Sir Bevill Grenvil in Cornwall—Bradock Down, and Stratton Hill—Lansdown—Trelawney's letter to the Lady Grace Grenvil, announcing Sir Bevill's death—Siege of Lichfield—Lord Brook slain—Warder Castle twice taken—Overtures of peace, and cessation of arms—Broken off—Reading besieged by Lord Essex—Surrenders—Defections from the Parliament's cause—Waller's Plot—Rupert's expeditions against the Parliament's quarters—Attacks Chinnor and Postcombe—Chalgrove fight—Hampden wounded—His last moments and death—Conclusion of the Memorials.

PART THE TENTH.

From 1642 to 1643.

THE King had failed in his attempt to seize the metropolis while a treaty was pending. This act had exasperated and united against him those in London who had been divided, disheartened, and reduced to ask for peace upon almost any terms that might secure their city from assault and plunder. The contributions had begun to come in slowly from the city, and the army were clamouring for pay. A new levy of customs had been made, and Lord Brook, Lord Say, and Sir Harry Vane, had been deputed to meet the citizens in Guildhall. They had urged with all their eloquence and power, enforced with all the topicks which the necessity of the times suggested, a speedy and vigorous supply. But the propositions had been coldly received. Great meetings of idlers, under

the name of 'the Apprentices,' had been called together, in Covent Garden and other open spaces, to petition the Houses for peace and accommodation, and symptoms of tumult had appeared among the soldiers assembling at the Globe Tavern and divers other places of publick resort, which it required the presence of some of the most popular of the leaders to allay. But the general cry of perfidy against the King now reconciled all differences and armed all spirits to improve the late advantage. Even his friends endeavoured but faintly and confusedly to apologize for the circumstances of his late enterprise. Success sometimes covers over the iniquity of an act, which, in failure only, is branded with appropriate disgrace; and against the exultations of a triumphant party, the reproach of bad faith can seldom gain an attentive or patient hearing. But Charles's retreat was as inglorious as his advance had been morally shameful. Yet, through the criminal indecision of Essex, the repulse of the King became as little signal, and the result of it substantially as little beneficial to the Parliament, as, under the circumstances, it could

be. He who had been the 'darling of the sword-men' still maintained all that frankness of manner with the soldiers which, joined to personal bravery, makes a leader beloved of them. He had, besides, the nobler quality of a quick and lofty sense of military honour. But his weak fondness for hereditary distinction, ill-disguised in converse with his equals, his cautious reserve on all points relating to the great principles of that cause, on which he had entered, rather, as was suspected, from disappointed ambition, than any attachment to popular doctrines, and his frigid reluctance at all times to seize the fruits of prosperity, so as to turn them to instant and important account, began to disgust the principal persons both in the parliament and in the army, and to make it seen that he was but an ineffective champion in a revolutionary conflict. Distrustful of the consequences, even before the achievement was complete, and alarmed as much at the decisive character of the persons with whom, as of the times in which, he had to act, his first care always was to controul rather than advance the tide of success, and his besetting fear was that of

doing too much. This was continually and fatally inclining him to secret compromises, which, in the end, made him well nigh faithless to the cause with which he was entrusted, because he had undertaken it without reconciling himself to all that it might in its course demand. His example chilled the spirit of his troops and disturbed the cordiality of their leaders. He saw not the necessity of exciting in his ranks an enthusiasm which might cope with the chivalrous sentiment cultivated throughout those of the King, and the constitution of the parliamentary army became justly liable to the criticism passed upon it by Cromwell in conversation with Hampden*. Hampden's duty in the field was to obey.—It was mortifying to his genius. But his modesty and publick virtue rendered, in his mind, the dangers of disunion paramount over all other dangers. He sometimes remonstrated, but, when overruled, always did his best to make even those counsels prosper which he disapproved. His conduct in detached command ever formed a striking contrast with that of his dilatory chief.

* See Burton's Diary, Appendix, vol. ii., p. 501, 2.

This was a practical reproach which Hampden could not spare him. Hampden was ever prompt, and, generally, successful. After the King's retreat, Essex, by order of the Parliament, advanced upon Windsor, and, crossing the Thames at Marlow, drove Rupert out of that town and Henley. He placed a garrison in both, and made good the whole country on the right bank of the Thames. Hampden had pressed forward with his own brigade to Reading; and a small body of cavalry had been sent from Henley, under Urrie, to second him. With this reinforcement, he endeavoured to place himself between Prince Rupert and Oxford. The Prince, however, on his approach, to avoid being cut off, hastened his own retreat, leaving all the baggage of his division in Reading, with a garrison of about fifteen hundred men, commanded by Colonel Lewis Kirke, the father of him who, in after times, was so infamously notorious for his cruelties in the west of England. Reading had been, about a month before, abandoned to the King's troops, in a manner not very reputable, by Henry Marten. It was a place of importance to an army ad-

vancing either towards or from London, being capable of holding a large garrison, and having four roads open to it. Upon this town Hampden marched, having captured some straggling parties of the cavaliers; and, sitting down before it, opened trenches on the rising ground to the north-west. He then sent in a gentleman of quality, with a flag of truce and a trumpet, offering as terms an entire indemnity to all who were not included in the Parliament's proclamation, with full liberty to depart when the town should have surrendered. To this an arrogant answer was returned by Kirke*. He confided not a little in Hampden's reluctance to open batteries upon a town full of inhabitants who were generally well affected to the parliamentary cause, and some of whom probably were connected in friendly habits with the neighbouring family of the Vachells of Coley. Accordingly, though commanding a view of almost every street, Hampden fired few shot into the town, except what were necessary to cover his approaches within a distance at

* A true relation of the proceedings of His Excellency the Earl of Essex, with the taking of Redding by Colonel Hampden and Colonel Hurry.—King's Collection. Brit. Mus.

which he might drive the troops from the walls with musquetry. Kirke in the meanwhile pressed the town's people to serve not only in working parties, but also in the defence. On the second night he attempted several sallies to destroy the Parliament's works, but was repulsed at each time with loss. At day-break on the third morning, Hampden and Urrie, seeing all quiet within, and judging the garrison to be fatigued and dispirited with the unsuccessful enterprizes of the night, determined to try if, with some companies of their best and most resolute soldiers, they could force and carry the walls by assault. In the grey twilight of the morning, advancing silently from the trenches with four hundred chosen men, Hampden passed the outer and second ditch, and, mounting the rampart, threw himself into the northernmost bastion. The townsmen, who formed part of the guard, at once laid down their arms; but the regular troops, falling back upon the second line of redoubts, though hotly pursued, were well supported by the main garrison of the place, and made a stout stand. Here the success of the attack became very doubtful;

the cavaliers rallying bravely, and beating back the assailants into the ditches, where, scattering grenades among them, a fearful slaughter began. But Hampden, calling forward the reserves, placed himself at the head of a second attack, and, again struggling up the walls with fresh men, renewed the fight on the crest of the main work. It was then that, Kirke drawing out nearly the whole garrison from the body of the place, the conflict came to push of pike, chief to chief, each at the head of his party, and each cheering his men by his presence and example. Several of the officers on both sides rushing to the front were slain, and Hampden could not long have maintained himself against the superior force now crowding out upon him, and supported by the batteries, had not Urrie, who had been detached to the right, pushed between the cavaliers and the town. Instantly the inhabitants within ceased their fire. It was not till after four hours fighting, and till above four hundred of the garrison had been laid dead in the place, and the Parliamentarians had planted their ensigns on the top of the work, that Colonel Kirke

abandoned the defence. Escaping with a few of his followers through a sally port on the left into the town, he got to his horses, and fled to Oxford, leaving Hampden master of Reading, the stores, and baggage which had been left there, and a great number of prisoners*.

Meanwhile Lord Essex, who remained at Henley, had sent some forces from Kingston upon Thames to make head against the Cavaliers' levies in Sussex, which, under Lord Thanet and the High Sheriff Ford, were committing great havock in that county. They were advancing upon Lewes, between which town and Cuckfield, on Hawood Heath, they were met by the Parliament's detachments, defeated, and beaten back upon Chichester, which was fortified, and held for the King.

The King's garrison of Farnham Castle, commanded by Sir John Denham, was also attacked and reduced, after a very slight and bad defence, and little loss on the Parliament's side, excepting that of Colonel Fane, son to the Earl of Westmorland, who was shot through the cheek, and died a few days

* A True Relation, &c. Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer.

after. Sir John Denham was more eminent as poet, gamester, and wit, than soldier. When George Wither was, shortly after this time, brought prisoner to Oxford, and was in some jeopardy, having been taken in arms against the King, Sir John Denham begged the King not to hang him, for that 'while Wither lives, Denham will not be the worst poet in England*.' This good natured epigram contributed to save Wither's life, and was afterwards also the means of restoring to Denham some of his property in Surrey, which had been confiscated by Parliament and given to Wither. But it would be unfair to refer a kind and gentle act to an interested motive.

These were not the only successes now obtained by the detachments of the Parliament's army in the midland districts of England. The King had scarcely established his headquarters at Oxford, when Prince Rupert resumed his incursions on the country between that city and the Parliament's lines. Hampden was almost daily on the road between the advanced posts of the army and London.

* Wood.—Ath. Oxon.

With prodigious activity did he appear discharging at almost the same time the double duties of command in the field, and counsel in the Close Committee; reporting to the House on the state of the army from the headquarters, and of the nation from the Committee; and then, without stay of time or purpose, posting down to take command of his brigade in action, or to strengthen the garrison of some menaced town*. Nor were these the sum of his various, unceasing, and important, labours. From Aylesbury he began to form the union of the six associated midland counties of Bucks, Hertford, Bedford, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Northampton. He conducted the correspondence, he arranged the details, he allayed the jealousies, which beset the first formation of a plan in

* See Perfect Diurnall, Sept. 12. 19. 26.—Oct. 3. Nov. 16. 28. Dec. 5. Continuation of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages, &c. Nov. 23. Dec. 8. 15. Denham thus describes it, in his lampoon on Hampden, entitled ‘A Speech Against Peace, at ‘the Close Committee.’

‘ Have I so often passed between
 ‘ Windsor and Westminster, unseen,
 ‘ And did myself divide,
 ‘ To keep His Excellence in awe,
 ‘ And give the Parliament the law ?
 ‘ For they knew none beside.’

conformity with which different districts, threatened by one common danger, yet unaccustomed to act under one common chief, were called upon to contribute out of a common fund of money and men to each others necessities, when each felt only its own weakness and poverty. In concert with Lord Say and Lord Kimbolton, he gradually brought all the materials which these counties could separately supply, to act as one compacted machine, full of vigour and alacrity. He lived not indeed to see this engine working with all the power which belonged to it; but before his death it began to be adopted as a model in other parts of England, and, afterwards, furnished Cromwell with the means which his great genius and energy made successful.

Lord Essex, meanwhile, strongly urged by messages from the two Houses, proceeded, though slowly, towards the great object of the war. On the 5th of December, he put the main body of his army in motion, with the design of investing Oxford. This had never been a favourite enterprize of his own; nor is it probable that he would have undertaken

it now, had he not known that an impression of his inactivity was daily sinking deeper into the minds of the army and of the Parliament. Hampden's influence in the Close Committee, which in truth had the supreme direction of the war, made his position with Lord Essex, under whom he was acting as a colonel in the field, one of great difficulty. His advice, from the beginning of the King's retreat, had always been, as we have seen, the bolder one of an instant advance upon Oxford, in order to bring the King to terms which he should afterwards have neither the temptation nor power to break through. Peremptory directions were now sent to the Lord General to make a forward movement. He could no longer find a pretext for remaining on his ground in the south of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, when the country was open before him. He therefore chose the least enterprising course which was allowed him. He determined to narrow his distance from Oxford, and to begin the forms of a regular investment, when he ought to have marched his army into the town. On his advance, he had a successful skirmish at

Stoken Church with a brigade of the King's troops, who retired before him; and, a few days after, having fortified Tedstock, about ten miles from Oxford, he sent forward Arthur Goodwyn with his regiment of foot and five troops of horse to possess themselves of Abingdon, where they lay within a mile of the advanced pickets of the King. Meanwhile, Sir John Meldrum and Colonel Langham, with their two regiments of infantry, seven troops of horse, and nine heavy guns and four small drakes, had passed by the westward without opposition beyond Oxford, and had entrenched themselves near Woodstock. The country to the eastward alone remained open to the operations of the King's troops. To be tempted into action with the Parliamentarians on either of the other two sides might have weakened the King's powers too much by dividing them, and would have taken them away from the main object of London. It would besides have left Oxford exposed to a sudden assault from any one of the small parties which had now approached so near on three sides. Something it was necessary that the King should do to preven

the investment becoming complete. He conceived the project of turning the whole of Essex's right flank, and again throwing a body of troops in the rear of it, upon the eastern road to London. Prince Rupert was sent to besiege Cirencester, in order to prevent the Parliament's garrison there from interfering with this enterprize. A strong body of horse, near five thousand, with artillery, now proceeded, under the command of the young Lord Wentworth, Lord Strafford's son, by the way of Thame, to menace Aylesbury and Wycombe. The King had forces on the Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire side, who were to overrun those counties, and so possess themselves of the Hertfordshire road. But the Association had been active in Cambridgeshire. They had collected their levies with great rapidity upon these points, and appeared in such force, that to attack them would have materially delayed the King's object, and to leave them in the rear would have been unsafe. The detachments which had moved into Hertfordshire, had no better success. They were checked at Watford; and, finding themselves opposed in front, and

threatened on their right by the militias of the six counties, they were fain to retreat by the same road along which they had advanced*.

Wentworth made a more promising attempt. Finding Aylesbury well fortified to the northward and westward by strong batteries, and to the east by a redoubt on the rising ground towards Bierton, and not wishing to waste time in a siege, he suddenly left it, moving rapidly by the lanes across the Chilterns, and coming down through the Woodlands upon Wycombe.

There he took post on the two high hills towards the side of Wycombe Heath and the Penn Woods. To such as know the appearance of Wycombe from either of those heights it would seem that the assailants would not have required artillery, nay hardly more than the fire-arms of the dragoons, to render it untenable. But Lord Wentworth ‘sounded his trumpets and made ‘a glorious shew,’ and then, descending into the valley, endeavoured to enter the town from the side of the Rye. Here he was taken in flank by about four thousand pike-men, vo-

* Special Passages.

lunteers raised in the neighbourhood, and opposed in front by the small garrison of regular troops commanded by Captain Hayes, who were supported by some guns. After several hours' fighting, Lord Wentworth retired, himself wounded, having lost near nine hundred of his men, and with no other success than the having slain about three hundred of the Parliamentarians*.

The purpose of these enterprizes having failed, and Lord Essex having now so nearly succeeded in investing Oxford, Charles was urgently advised by some to betake himself to the North; the rather, as his army in those parts, now hard pressed by the Fairfaxes and Hothams, might receive countenance from their sovereign's presence, and that he, by a personal view of their necessities, might be induced to spare to them, from his magazines in the South, supplies of ammunition and other stores, which, by the vigilance of Lord Warwick's cruizers, they had failed to obtain from abroad. These supplies, timely ob-

* Captain Hayes's and Goodwyn's Letters.—A most glorious and happy victory obtained of the Lord Wentworth by the Buckingham, &c. Volunteers, 7th December, 1642. King's Collect. Brit. Mus.

tained, might, it was hoped, enable them to reduce Hull, and convert it into an important place of arms for his service. The Earl of Essex, being made aware of this intention, instantly despatched orders to the forces in the Committees of Northampton, Warwick, Derby, and the neighbourhood of Worcester, and to Lord Stamford in Hertfordshire, to collect with all possible speed all their strength, to intercept the King's progress to the North, and to oppose Lord Digby, who was marching to the Westward in great force for the purpose of diverting them from watching the King. Lord Essex also set forward with an advanced guard of infantry and artillery, now near Oxford, in pursuit. Thus prosperously looked the affairs of the Parliament in this quarter, when a sudden combination of active and successful movements in various parts of England, assisted by other circumstances of good fortune, turned the whole aspect of the campaign in favour of the King, and closed that year with giving him a very decisive advantage. Cirencester was taken by Prince Rupert, who committed the most dreadful severities, putting a great part of the garrison

and numbers of the towns people to the sword. 'It yielded,' says Clarendon, 'much plunder, 'from which the undistinguishing soldier 'could not be kept, but was equally injurious to friend and foe;' so that many who had been imprisoned by the Parliament, 'found themselves at liberty, and undone, 'together.' Rupert, instantly after, scoured the borders of North Wales, giving support and confidence to the King's friends in those districts, and receiving only a slight check at Gloucester, where he was stopped and beaten off by the gallantry of General Massy.

The Queen had about this time arrived from Holland, making good her landing at Burlington, though pursued by the Parliament's fleet. She brought three ships laden with ammunition, arms, and stores of all sorts, and a large sum of money, which, together, enabled the Earl of Newcastle to put into activity the powers of an association which he had formed for the King in the four northern counties, and to which he now gave the name of the Queen's army. Thus supported and reinforced he cleared the whole country to the north of the Humber, and laid siege

to Hull. A great body of the principal gentry of the west had now taken the field in the King's behalf, supported by a numerous army, and opposed only by General Ruthen and General James Chudleigh, who had to carry on the operations of the campaign in a district the people of which were generally hostile to the Parliament's cause. Exeter was besieged by Hopton and Sir Bevill Grenvil, who, though more than once repulsed, ceased not to threaten that city, and impede the supplies coming up to it from the sea.

Marlborough also was entered, and held by a powerful garrison under the Lords Wilmot, Grandison, and Digby.

These advantages on the King's part were scarcely counterbalanced by the taking of Winchester, Hereford, and Monmouth, by Sir William Waller, and, shortly after, of Leeds, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who also, in the course of the next month, gave the Earl of Newcastle a signal defeat at Wakefield*.

The Earl of Essex saw the necessity of detaching a part of his own army to suc-

* Heath's Chronicle.

cour the cause in the West, and Prince Rupert was now on his return to strengthen that of the King. Instead, then, of the long and often demanded attack on Oxford, (for which all things were ripe, and which could hardly have failed in the execution, and the success of which would have probably gone near to end the war,) the Lord General preferred to concentrate his force by abandoning that neighbourhood, and drawing nearer to London.

Oxford could not have withstood a two days' siege. Besides the natural disadvantages of its position, its inhabitants, though loud for the King while he was present and the enemy at a distance, were not to be depended on. The University, during the advance of the Parliament's army upon Worcester, in the preceding autumn, had petitioned the Earl of Pembroke, their Chancellor, for his protection; to which a scornful answer had been returned by the Earl, telling the Vice-Chancellor, that the open course of hostility which that body had adopted against the authority of Parliament, not only by the raising of supplies of plate and money for

the King, but by enrolling the gowmsmen in troops, had deprived them of all claim to favour, except such as the laws of war granted to garrisons submitting at discretion: Lord Say and Hampden, however, on their entry, had not

‘Lifted their spear against the Muses’ bower.’

Oxford had not been subject to plunder or to any of the other extremities of war.

Reading was now for the second time abandoned to be garrisoned for the King, and Maidenhead became an advanced post of the Parliament’s army again reduced to a defensive position before London.

In this posture were the two armies at the beginning of 1643. Proposals of peace were again voted by Parliament; but they were still grounded upon the assumption, that the King had, under the controul of evil advisers, levied war upon his Parliament, and the basis of accommodation was the stipulation, that he should return to London. A cessation of arms, however, was agreed to, during which commissioners might meet to negotiate terms. But hitherto the various successes on both sides had left the issue of

the war as doubtful as it had been before the Edge-Hill fight. The armies were in their winter-quarters, without any immediate prospect of a forward movement on either side that could lead to any decisive advantage, and the sanguine temperament of the King, daily flattering him with the expectation of favourable news from the North and from the West, made him reject all overtures of treaty.

On the 1st of January appeared at Oxford the first number of the 'Mercurius Aulicus.' Journals of occurrences had been for some time published weekly by the Parliament, and proclamations and intelligences issued on the King's part, generally in the shape of single broad sheets printed by authority. Dr. Heylin now undertook the business of the press, and he worked it with an activity and virulence, and with a disregard of fact in his statements, which even more than rivalled the exaggerations of those sent forth by the weekly writers of the Parliament's party. Indeed, it requires great care in referring to such authority on either side at about this time, not to be grossly deceived as to the reality as well as the character of many of

the events which are recorded. We find battles announced as won by the Earl of Newcastle and Lord Northampton which never were fought, and ‘Certaine intelligence of great and signal victories obtained by the Earle of Essex,’ or ‘joyfull newes from the West, with a greate defeate of the Malignants under Hopton,’ with more than once a ‘confident belief’ that Prince Rupert was slain. It is difficult to say on which side the balance of untruth preponderated. More newspapers were published by the Parliament;—six in London alone. For the King there were the *Mercurius Aulicus*, published at Oxford, and the *Belgicus* at the Hague for distribution on the English coast, besides proclamations and other intelligences. But Dr. Heylin was eminent above all other men in the compounding of what, in modern phrase, would be called a bulletin from the army. If, on the one hand, Essex forbore from occupying a town or village which would have made a strong post in advance against the King, and a picket of Rupert’s entered it at night, the transaction was next week magnified by Dr. Heylin into a triumphant routing

of the runaway roundheads, or a signal and providential argument of the unanimity of the country round in favour of the royal cause. It must, however, be admitted that, if Heylin equalled, and sometimes surpassed, the Parliament's journalists in exaggeration, the *Mercurius Aulicus* was written with great ability, and had much the advantage over the other papers of those times in its powers of sarcasm and invective, and in the ingenuity of its misrepresentations. On the whole, it is seldom safe to state a fact of any importance to the characters of those engaged in it on contemporary evidence, which is not vouched by the testimony of each party.

On the morning of the 1st of January there was a sharp skirmish in the town of Burford, between some of the Parliament's dragoons and Sir John Byron, who, with his regiment, was escorting ammunition to the Marquis of Hertford. At about midnight of the 31st, Byron and his men having retired to their quarters, their sentinels descried four horsemen by the light of their matches, the advanced guard of a troop entering the town from the Cirencester road, and, before the

alarm could be well given, about two hundred dragoons were in the market-place. The conflict began about the White Hart, an inn at the town's end, from which a lane led to the market cross. Byron, taking possession of the cross and the houses about it, opened a fire of musquetry on the Parliamentarians, who, as little expecting to find an enemy in Burford as they had been expected by them, were thrown into some confusion. A fierce struggle ensued, in the course of which Sir John was wounded in the face with a pole-ax; but at last he succeeded in clearing the town, pursuing the dragoons near six miles, beyond which it was unsafe to advance, the moon not having risen, and the road not having been reconnoitred by him *.

On the night of the 5th Hampden's regiment was doing duty on the outposts near Brackly. The pickets were attacked by a strong body of horse, sent out by the Earl of Northampton to surprize them. The Parliamentarians were on the alert, and repulsed the assailants with loss, pursuing them for several hours after day-break with two regi-

* Mercurius Aulicus. Continuation of Speciall Passages.

ments of dragoons, whom Hampden, suspecting or having intelligence of their design, had brought into the town, from the Buckingham side, after dark on the evening before. On the first conflict, however, Wagstaffe, who had, from the beginning, served under Hampden as lieutenant-colonel of his regiment, was taken ; and, being a prisoner of some note, was hurried off with a few troopers to Oxford. Wagstaffe had been for some years in the service of the French king, and actively employed in his wars*. Like some of the other soldiers of fortune, the nature and condition of his engagement had left him, in his own estimation, at liberty to change his party and cause with great facility of conscience. Wagstaffe no sooner arrived at the head quarters of the King, than he engaged his services to him with the same eagerness with which they had before been given to the Parliament. And, to make them more available, he was thenceforward usually employed in enterprizes in which he would be most likely to be opposed personally against the troops and against the skill of his old

* *Mercurius Aulicus.*

master, whose habits of warfare and whose troops he well knew, and under whom he had become well acquainted with those parts of the country in which they were likely to meet. Accordingly at Brill we find him, almost immediately afterwards, acting with the garrison, by which an enterprize of Hampden's was defeated, and shortly after at Stratford-on-Avon, commanding the party which was beaten by him.

In the course of the late operations, Lord Essex had neglected a post of great strength and importance between Aylesbury and Thame;—of great importance as lying directly upon his principal line of communication, and affording a place of refuge and support for the parties employed from Oxford to harass the Parliament's lines, and naturally of great and commanding strength. Brill-Hill is the highest of a small steep range on the borders of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, and is backed by a deep mass of woodland on the side towards Aylesbury, through which large bodies of men might move in that direction for several miles, unobserved. This position was allowed with-

out opposition to be occupied by the cavaliers, who established a garrison there, and strengthened it with a large redoubt and lines of defence on all sides. Sir Gilbert Gerrard, a brave and good officer, held it for the King with a force of about six hundred men. It was not till the full effects of this oversight began to be felt by Lord Essex, in the interruption which this garrison gave to all his arrangements in that quarter, that he turned his attention to repossessing himself of it. Arthur Goodwyn had made a successful attack by night upon the neighbouring quarters at Piddington, and had carried off three troops of horse with their officers *. But the fortress still remained unassailed and threatening. Suddenly, Mr. Grenvil, the high sheriff, planned an assault upon this formidable and commanding post. He marched the volunteers from Aylesbury, and sent for Hampden with his regiment from Wycombe to assist him. But the enterprize entirely failed. The King had reinforced the garrison the day before the attack, and Hampden had

* A Continuation of Certaine Speciall and Remarkable Passages, &c. From Thursday 19th January, to Thursday 26th.

been unable, from the bad state of the roads, to bring up any artillery, except a few small sakers. After three several attempts to carry the lines by storm, in each of which they were repulsed by the steadiness of Gerrard's troops, and the great strength of the place, the Parliamentarians were forced to retire, covering their retreat as well as they could, pursued, however, by the cavalry of the garrison, and suffering the loss of many men and horses among the deep lanes and woods and marshes. In this action, Mr. Grenvil received a dangerous wound from a musquet shot, and from this time it does not appear that the high sheriff was tempted to take the field in person *. Meanwhile, his kinsman, on the opposite party, pursued in Cornwall a gallant and eager course of service, generally distinguished by success.

On the 19th of January was fought the fight of Bradock Down, in which the King's troops, commanded in chief by Sir Ralph Hopton, obtained a signal advantage. This action was of the more importance, as being the first which restored the King's affairs in

* Mercurius Aulicus.

those parts after the failure and retreat of the Marquis of Hertford, Lieutenant General of the Western Association. A fresh army had been raised in a marvellously short time by the efforts of Hopton, Sir Nicholas Slanning, and Sir Bevill Grenvil*. The Lord Mohun too having, since the beginning of the civil war, kept himself in close retirement upon his estate at Boconnock, now joined the rising party, and shewed himself in arms for the first time in this battle, within sight of his own house. The Parliamentarians, encouraged by their former success, were threatening Liskeard, the capture of which would have opened to them a line of communication along nearly the whole of the western coast. It was within a few miles from this town that the two armies met. Heath and Clarendon describe the unexpected opening of a masked battery of two small drakes as mainly instrumental in the issue of this encounter; one of the instances of the effect of a very small force of artillery in times when the use was so little known of that engine of war in the field. The victory was complete. The Parliamentarians were checked and routed, and

* Heath's Chronicle.

1250 prisoners taken, and, on the same evening, Hopton entered Liskeard in triumph.

The following letter was sent by Sir Bevill to his wife, who was then at his house at Stow, about thirty miles from the place of action. It describes with warm and hurried energy the achievement in which he had that day borne a very forward part, and was written before he had put off the armour he had worn in the fight*. Nothing that is natural to a frank and gallant man's feelings is ungraceful in the expression, nor is it dishonouring to Sir Bevill that something of the spirit of self-commendation, which on that night swelled his heart, should have been poured forth in a letter to his 'best friend,' to whom he knew that his fame was dear and precious as his safety.

' For the Lady Grace Grenvil,

' at Stow.

' The messenger is paid,

' Yet give him a shilling more.

' MY DEARE LOVE,

' It hath pleased God to give us a happy
' victory on this present Thursday, being the

* In Lord Carteret's Collection.

‘ 19th of January, for w^{ch} pray joyne wth me
‘ in giving God thanks. We advanced yes-
‘ terday from Bodmyn to finde the Enemy w^{ch}
‘ we heard was abrode, or, if we misssd him
‘ in the field, we were resolved to unhouse
‘ them in Liskeard, or leave our boddies in the
‘ high way. We were not above 3 mile from
‘ Bodmyn when we had viewe of two troopes
‘ of their horse to whom we sent some of
‘ our’s w^{ch} chasd them out of the field, while
‘ our foote marchd after our horse. But
‘ night coming on, we could march no farther
‘ then Boconnock Parke, where, (upon my
‘ Lo: Mohun’s kinde motion,) we quartered
‘ all our army that night by good fires under
‘ the hedges. The next morning; (being this
‘ day) we marchd forth, and, about noone,
‘ came in full view of the enemie’s whole army
‘ uppon a faire heath between Bocon: and
‘ Braddock church. They were in horse
‘ much stronger then we, but, in foote, we were
‘ superior as I thinke. They were possest of
‘ a pritty rising ground w^{ch} was in the way
‘ towards Liskerd; and we planted ourselves
‘ upon such another against them wthin mus-
‘ ket shott; and we saluted each other wth

‘ bulletts about two howers or more, each side
‘ being willing to keepe their ground of ad-
‘ vantage and to have the other to come over
‘ to his prejudice. But after so long delay,
‘ they standing still firme, and being obsti-
‘ nate to hould their advantage, S^r Ra: Hopton
‘ resolvd to march over to them, and to leave
‘ all to the mercy of God and valour of our
‘ side. I had the van, and so, after sollemne
‘ prayers at the head of every devision, I ledd
‘ my part away, who followed me wth so great
‘ a courage both downe the one hill and up
‘ the other, that it strooke a terror in them,
‘ while the seconds came up gallantly after
‘ me, and the winges of horse chargd on both
‘ sides. But their courage so faild as they
‘ stood not the first charge of the foote, but
‘ fledd in great disorder; and we chast them
‘ diverse miles. Many are not slaine, because
‘ of their quick disordering. But we have taken
‘ above 600 prisoners, and more are still
‘ brought in by the soldiers. Much armes
‘ they have lost; 8 collours we have won, and
‘ 4 piéces of ordinance from them; and
‘ wthout rest we marchd to Liskerd, and
‘ tooke it wthout delaye, all their men flying

‘ from itt before we came ; and so I hope we
‘ are now againe in the way to settle the
‘ countrey in peace. All our Cornish Gran-
‘ dies were present at the battell, wth the
‘ Scotch Generall Ruthven, the Somersett
‘ Collonells, and the Horse Captaines Pim
‘ and Tomson, and, but for their horses’
‘ speed, had been all in our hands. Lett my
‘ sister, my cossens of Clovelly, wth y^r other
‘ frends, understand of gods mercy to us ;
‘ and we lost not a man. So I rest

‘ Y^{rs} ever,

‘ BEVILL GRENVIL.

‘ Liskerd, July 19, 1642.’

But the Parliamentarians, thus beaten at Bradock, and driven in confusion through Liskeard, were not prevented from again rallying in force further to the westward. The little experience of both parties in the art of war, the want of combination, and the difficulties which the country presented all over England, owing to the fewness and badness of the roads, gave on all occasions great advantages to beaten armies. Assurances were sent to them of powerful assistances. It was promised that Sir Wil-

liam Waller, with a large and better disciplined force, should soon be on the march to support them from the neighbourhood of Gloucester. They were thus encouraged to make head as long and as obstinately as they could, and to harass as much as possible the King's force by dividing their own and acting upon their flanks, until this expected assistance might arrive. Accordingly we find from Sir Bevill's letters*, that as soon as the beginning of February, the Royalists having advanced upon the main body of the Parliamentarians, who had retreated on Plymouth, were again distracted by fresh powers gathering in their rear in the country round Tavistock. A large body of the King's army was detached to Okehampton, where they found themselves opposed by near 5000 men, who, retreating on Chagford, were attacked without success. The approaches to the town being difficult, and the King's cavalry too far in advance of their infantry, 'our men,' says Sir Bevill, 'were forced to retire againe after 'they were in; and one loss we have sustained

* Letter to Lady Grace, dated Okehampton: Feb. 9.—In Lord Carteret's possession.

‘ that is unvalluable, to witt, Sydney Godolphin is slaine in the attempt, who was as gallant a gent: as the world had.’

Saltash was next attacked and forced by Sir Ralph Hopton, where he took many cannon and prisoners, and a ship of war* ; Ruthen escaping in an open boat to Plymouth †.

But Hopton was now in great difficulties. Placed between the force near Tavistock and the garrison of Plymouth, and unable to reduce the latter place, or to clear the country to the eastward of him without directing his whole power on that point, contrary to the advice of Sir Bevill, he divided his army, occupying himself for near a fortnight in a hopeless siege of Plymouth, the garrison of which could scarcely have ventured to move out, and allowing the Parliamentarians, in other parts adjacent, to gather strength and spirits. On the 25th of February, however, the siege of Plymouth was abandoned, ‘ which,’ says Sir Bevill, ‘ for my part, I never expected could be successful : yet, in submission to better judgement I gave way. And we are now at Tavistock,

* Heath’s Chronicle.

† Clarendon. Hist. Reb.

‘ united again in one boddy. The party of our’s
‘ w^{ch} was at Modbury indured a cruell assault
‘ for 12 howers against many thousand men,
‘ and killd many of them, with the losse of fewe
‘ and some hurt. But our’s at last were
‘ forced to retire to Plympton for want of am-
‘ munition, having spent all their stock. We
‘ are still threatned, but I hope god’s favour
‘ will not forsake us.

‘ To the Lady Grace at Stow, Feb. 25.’

During this sharp campaign in the West, while Ruthen, General Chudleigh, and the Earl of Stamford commanded jointly for the Parliament, the Earl of Stamford, whether from jealousy or some more dishonouring motive, appears to have failed in giving the support which was demanded from him by the other two. They were active, enterprizing, and indefatigable. Stamford had rarely the good fortune to be with his division, where the danger and exigency of the business in hand the most urgently required his presence in the field. At Bradock Down his absence was the more remarkable, inasmuch as Ruthen had halted for two days for him to come

up from a distance of only about twenty miles, and when his additional numbers could hardly have failed of securing an important advantage. It seems as if nothing but the danger of offending a person of his rank and connexions, and the deserved popularity of his son the brave Lord Gray of Groby, can account for so bad a soldier as Lord Stamford having been left in command of troops, or even having escaped censure from the Parliament. But the difficulties which the close committee had in these respects to encounter, among the religious jealousies of the Independents and the Presbyterians, and the political jealousies of the nobles and the levellers engaged together in this cause, having often to balance the disadvantage of retaining incompetent leaders against that of disgusting their party by removing them, may easily be conceived, but will probably never be known in all the various and complicated details.

The state of Devonshire, strongly against the King, and of Cornwall doubtful, disposed him, and the character of their leaders in the West; and the important business nearer home, induced the Parliament to conclude an

armistice, that was soon broken also by common consent.

The defeat of Stratton Hill was that which determined the Parliament to place the western army under one leader, in whose acknowledged abilities and claims for supreme command they might have confidence, and to turn their attention much more seriously to the war in that important quarter. Here Chudleigh commanded for the Parliament, supported by Sir Richard Buller and Sir Alexander Carew*; and Hopton, and under him Grenvil, and Slanning, John Arundell, Sir John Berkeley, John Ashburnham, and John Trevanion, for the King. Lord Stamford, as usual, had neglected to join in the position which the Parliament's army had taken up, and the whole of its cavalry had been detached, a few miles off to Bodmin, under the command of Sir George Chudleigh, the general's father, to disperse or capture a force which had assembled there to recruit for the royal cause under the commission of array. Availing himself of the advantage of this moment, Hopton pushed

* Clarendon. Hist. Reb.

forward his whole army by a forced march of two days, and, on his arrival in sight of the enemy, instantly attacked. Sir Bevill led the advance with his musqueteers and pikemen, supported by Sir John Berkeley's brigade, and, for some time, drew the whole power of the enemy's troops on the hill to that part, where, from the steepness of the ascent and the stubbornness of the defence, the assailants met with great difficulty and loss. At length, after several hours of severe fighting, relieved from some of the stress of the action by three other divisions coming up to the attack on the three other sides, the Cornish leaders, finding the ammunition nearly spent, a defect which they agreed, says Clarendon, 'could only be supplied by courage,' determined to push forward at once for the plain on the summit. There the four parties met, and overthrew the Parliamentarians, who, unfurnished with cavalry to protect their flanks, although behaving with the utmost courage, and their officers doing all that skill and soldiership could do, were entirely routed and driven down in great disorder, leaving General Chudleigh and seven-

teen hundred other prisoners, thirteen pieces of cannon, and all their baggage and stores, in the hands of the victors. The success of this battle reduced all that part of the West country to submit to the King, excepting Plymouth, which still held out, protected by the strength of its citadel, and receiving its supplies, unmolested, by sea. On Sir Ralph Hopton, in memory of the victory, was conferred the title of Baron Hopton of Stratton.

These events had gradually raised the war in the West into great importance with both parties. The Parliament saw itself daily losing ground in those parts, and at length determined to send thither Sir William Waller to the supreme command, supported with a small additional force, and with all the reputation which he had derived from his military experience abroad, encreased by his late services and successes in Surrey, Hampshire, Gloster, and Hereford. No sooner had the commonwealth party received this reinforcement of means and of system than Prince Maurice and Lord Hertford were detached thither by the King. This led to a course of alternate successes and defeats which kept

the issue of the war in balance for nearly two years, the cause of the Parliament appearing more than once nearly extinguished there, but at length prevailing. The history of these events would carry us wide of the main subject of these memorials, and, in respect of dates, far beyond it. Lansdown was, on the whole, a victory for Waller; but, at the battle of Roundway Down, which followed soon after, he received a complete and signal overthrow. He returned to London, unfortunate, but with the well-deserved glory of having conducted himself, though unsuccessfully, with skill, determination, and valour, against a combination of circumstances beyond his controul; ill supplied with means, and cruelly thwarted by the jealousy of Essex. But on his return he was met by both Houses with a vote of thanks, honourable to them as to him, like that of the Roman senate to their consul after Cannæ.—‘*Quo in tempore, adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consule, ex tantâ clade redeunti, et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit, et gratiæ actæ, quod de republicâ non desperasset.*’*

* Tit. Liv., lib. xxii., ad fin.

Cornwall, Devonshire, and Somersetshire, afterwards became the principal scene of the war, Essex and Fairfax leading on the one part, and the King in person on the other; and it ceased not until the entire abandonment of the West by the King, owing mainly to the carelessness, the excesses, the cowardice, and, perhaps, treachery, of Goring, who commanded his cavalry. But the fight at Lansdown closed the brave and honourable life of Sir Bevill Grenvil. Waller had retired into Bath upon some reinforcements of cavalry, lately arrived from London. There he knew that Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford must attack him, or lose all the fruits of what had been done in Cornwall, and leave that county and Devonshire to be brought again under the undisputed dominion of the Parliament by the reduction of the few small garrisons held for the King, and by the power of Lord Warwick's fleet upon the coast. The King's army advanced from Wells and Frome by Bradford. But finding Waller strongly posted on Lansdown, his artillery flanking the main road and covered by fascines and stone walls, they retired to Marsfield, where they

were charged by Haselrigge's regiment of cuirassiers, 'the Lobsters,' with great execution. Here, however, rallying with their whole force of cavalry, under Maurice and the Earl of Carnarvon, and the Cornish musqueteers under Sir Nicholas Slanning, they again beat back the cuirassiers to the foot of the hill. And now Sir Bevill Grenvil's troops on the right becoming impatient at the sight of the batteries and breastworks on the hill, 'cried out that they might have leave to fetch off those cannon *.' Sir Bevill himself headed this gallant attack, flanked by a party of horse on his right, his own regiment of musqueteers on the left, himself on horseback leading up his pikes midway, in the face of the cannon, and meeting a strong body of the King's, routed and pursued by the Parliament's cavalry. In vain did the cannon and musquetry from the brow of the hill play fast and thick upon the resolute Cornishmen, who pressing forward and 'scritchng like their own wild sea mows †,' bore up against two charges of cavalry on their ascent. But, on the third charge, Sir Bevill's horse was killed,

* Clarendon. Hist. Reb.

† Western Tragedy.

and this gallant gentleman fell to rise no more, covered with wounds, and his head cloven with the blow of a poll-axe. The troops retired, further disordered by the blowing up of a magazine among them; and Clarendon, though he unaccountably claims the victory for the King, admits that Waller quartered that night again in the city of Bath, at the foot of the disputed hill; while Hopton was borne off the field severely wounded, many of his officers slain, and his army retreating towards Oxford by the way of Devizes. In this town they were for some days enclosed by Waller, till they were relieved by the other army under the Earl of Hertford and Prince Maurice*. I have been led beyond the proper date of these memorials to pursue the short and bright career of Sir Bevill to its honourable close. But I trust that the subject and the feeling of the following letter, written by his faithful friend Trelawney, announcing his death to that high-minded and amiable woman Lady Grace, may excuse this violation of the unity of time in my narrative.

* Clarendon. Hist. Reb. Ludlow's Memoirs.

HONORABLE LADY,

‘ How cann I containe myselfe or longer
conceale my sorrow for y^e Death of y^t ex-
‘ cellent Man y^r most deare Husband, and
‘ my noble Freind. Bee pleased wth y^r wisdom
‘ to consider of the events of warr w^{ch} is sel-
‘ dome or never constant, but as full of muta-
‘ bility as hazard. And, seeing it hath pleased
‘ God to take him from y^r La^{pp}, yet this may
‘ something appease y^r greate flux of teares,
‘ that hee died an Honorable Death, w^{ch} all
‘ his enemies will envy, fighting wth invincible
‘ valour and Loyalty y^e Battle of his God, his
‘ King, and Country. A greater honour then
‘ this noe Man living can enioy. But God
‘ hath cal’d him unto himselfe to crowne him
‘ (I doubt not) wth immortall Glory for his
‘ noble constancye in this blessed Cause. It
‘ is too true (most noble Lady) that God hath
‘ made you drinke of a bitter Cupp, yett, if
‘ you please to submitt unto his Devine Will
‘ and pleasure by kissing his rodd patiently,
‘ God (noe doubt) hath a staff of Consolation
‘ for to comfort you in this greate affliction
‘ and tryall. Hee will wipe y^r eyes, drie up

‘ the flowing springe of y^r Teares, and make
 ‘ y^r Bedd easye, and by y^r patience overcome
 ‘ God’s Justice by his retourning Mercie.
 ‘ Maddam, hee is gone his Journey but a little
 ‘ before us, wee must march after when it
 ‘ shall please God, for your La^{pp} knows y^t
 ‘ none fall without his Providence w^{ch} is as
 ‘ greate in the thickest showre of Bullets, as
 ‘ in y^e Bedd. I beseeche you (deare Lady)
 ‘ to pardon this my trouble and boldnes, and
 ‘ y^e God of Heaven blesse you and comfort
 ‘ you and all my noble Cosens in this y^r
 ‘ greate visitation, which shal bee the un-
 ‘ fayned Prayers of him that is, Most noble
 ‘ Lady,

‘ Your Ladishipps honerer

‘ and humble Servant

‘ JOHN TRELAWNE.’

‘ Trelawne, 20th July, 1643.’

We now return to the affairs of the mid-land counties as we left them about the end of February.

The town of Lichfield had throughout been steady in its adherence to the Parliament’s cause; but its garrison had been for some time

withdrawn, and detached to other parts which appeared to be more urgently menaced. Suddenly, in furtherance of a design long laid in secret by Lord Chesterfield and a party of the gentry of the surrounding country, the Cathedral Close was seized and fortified for the King. Provisions and ammunition had been collected in a house within this precinct, and the position of the place, and the double wall which surrounded it, rendered it strong according to the means and rules then known for defence and for attack. Lord Brook from Warwickshire, assisted by Sir John Gell from the neighbourhood of Derby, undertook to reduce it. Although the Earl of Northampton was moving from Banbury to support the party which occupied the close, it capitulated upon mere quarter, after three days' siege. But, on the second day of the attack, Lord Brook, who was directing from a window the advance of a body of troops up a street leading towards the Close, was slain by a musquet shot, fired from the Cathedral tower. It was on the 2nd of March, the calendar day of St. Chad, a Mercian Bishop, the founder of Lichfield Cathedral; a coincidence which did

not escape being dealt with by all the court writers as a visible judgement, in which it is difficult to suppose that they themselves could have been believers. Clarendon, as usual, does not disdain to countenance, by insinuation, the observations made by others on this childish augury. Dr. Heylin very gravely remarks, that Lord Brook, when he left Coventry, had desired his Chaplain to preach upon this text from Esther, ‘ If I ‘ perish,—I perish;’ and that ‘ it is on credible ‘ testimony, that before his entry into Lich- ‘ field, he was heard to wish, if the cause he ‘ was in were not right and just, he might be ‘ presently cut off; which, being compared ‘ with the event, may serve sufficiently to con- ‘ vince the conscience of those, who have ‘ been hitherto seduced unto a good opinion ‘ of so fowle a cause, that it is neither justi- ‘ fiable in itself, nor acceptable unto God.’ ‘ These things,’ says he, ‘ should be hear- ‘ tily considered of*.’ It is asserted by Dugdale, and repeated on his authority by Carte, that Brook, ‘ seeing the consequences

* Mercurius Aulicus. Tuesday, March 14.

‘ of the cause he had espoused, was inclined
‘ to change his side, when he lost his life at
‘ Lichfield.’ This is shewn to be untrue by
every part of his character and conduct to
the last. One even of less high and scrupulous
honour than Lord Brook would hardly
have stooped to the treachery of planning,
and conducting a voluntary enterprize against
those whom, at the same time, he was ‘ in-
clining’ to join. It would be moreover some-
thing contradictory to Dr. Heylin’s theory of
visible judgements, that one, whose life was
spared through a long and dangerous career
of service to the Parliament, should be cut
off by a special providence at the time when,
repenting his former courses, he was about
to devote himself to the cause of the King.
He was, indeed, of a spirit so pure, pious,
and brave, that while he was revered by
the Parliamentarians, as one whose repu-
tation added glory and power to their cause,
his enemies could find no ground of censure
against his motives. ‘ They who were ac-
‘ quainted with him,’ says Lord Clarendon,
‘ believed him to be well natured and just.’

Lord Chesterfield, and the party in the

Close, surrendered; and the Earl of Northampton, retiring, took up his quarters in Stafford. On the fifteenth, was fought, near this town, the battle of Hopton Heath; the division of the Parliamentarians from Lichfield having advanced under Sir William Gell, and joined itself to that of Sir William Breton, coming from the north. Here, within a few days after his great rival and opponent, Lord Brook, had been carried to his grave, the Earl of Northampton lost his life, fighting with desperate valour, and, even when unhorsed and surrounded, refusing quarter.

As the evening closed upon the troops, the cavalry, of both sides equally, were prevented by the coal-pits from pursuing any casual advantage in a manner which might have determined the success. After a bloody, but indecisive, day, both armies retreated at nightfall; the Parliament's to some rising ground southward, and the King's into Stafford. And, as was the custom on all like occasions, both parties took to themselves the credit of a victory[†].*.

* Clarendon. Hist. Reb. Kingdome's Weekly Intelligencer. Speciall Passages, &c.

Meanwhile, Lord Herbert's small and newly-raised army was surrounded and entirely destroyed by Sir William Waller, who, shortly after, reduced Hereford also, and Tewkesbury. While these places were won and lost, alternately, by King and Parliament, in the midland counties, and while a great campaign was preparing in the extreme West of England, the intermediate county of Wilts was the scene of no less active operations; but these were carried on by parties inconsiderable in number, and unconnected in position. The castle of Warder, small and unimportant for any object that could have influence on the fate of the war, was, in the course of a few months, twice besieged, and twice taken; once by Sir Edward Hungerford and Strode, for the Parliament, and again retaken by the Lord Arundell, Colonel Barnes, and Sir Francis Doddington, from Edmund Ludlow, who had been left in command, and had assisted in the first siege. The last of these defences was remarkable for the obstinate bravery with which Ludlow, for several months, maintained, against a very superiour force, an edifice, which had been

weakened by the lapse of many centuries, originally constructed to resist only the attacks of archery and such other powerless machines of ancient warfare, and surrounded on three sides by a steep woody hill in the possession of the enemy. It was at last taken by the explosion of a mine, which laid a great part of one of the flanking towers open, and grievously damaged the main body of the castle. The first defence, which had lasted little more than a week, was rendered memorable as having been conducted by the courage and fidelity of two noble ladies: these were the aged Lady Blanch, wife of Thomas Lord Arundell, and her son's wife, the Lady Cecily, daughter of Sir Henry Compton, of Brambletye in Sussex. They held the castle, in the absence of their husbands, with a garrison consisting of little more than their menial servants. The firing of a mine on one side of the building so weakened the remaining means of resistance, that, on the besiegers threatening to spring another on the other side, and then to storm the castle, if it were not delivered up before an hour-glass should have run out, a surrender was

proposed on an honourable capitulation, the terms of which were signed by Hungerford and the Lady Blanch*.

By these successive sieges this antique mansion was brought nearly to the condition of a ruin. The ponds were drained, the deer parks destroyed, the gardens and terraces dismantled, and the walls shattered almost to their foundations. A great part of the outer wall, inner court, and two towers, still stand, a monument of the ancient glories and greatness of a noble house, beautiful and venerable in the bareness in which war and time have left it.

A cessation of arms in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire had been proposed by the King, and assented to by Parliament, on the first of March; and grounds of treaty were discussed, by Commissioners, at Oxford, with the King in person. It was agreed that, during the cessation, the King's forces in Oxfordshire should advance no nearer to Windsor than Wheatley, and, in Buckinghamshire, no nearer to Aylesbury than Brill; the Par-

* Ludlow's Memoirs. Clarendon. Hist. Reb. Mercurius Rusticus.

liament's, in Oxfordshire, no nearer to Oxford than Henley, and, in Buckinghamshire, no nearer than Aylesbury. And the King's troops, soon after, retired from before Gloucester, which, after Waller had left those parts, had been maintained with the utmost resolution and skill, by General Massey, for several weeks, against the vigorous and unremitting attacks of a large army *.

But, at Oxford, from beginning to end of the long protracted negotiations, the insincere and inconstant temper of the King cast endless difficulties in the way of the treaty, and often marred the prospect when it seemed the most promising of success. Whitelocke, who was present with the Commissioners, and acted as their clerk at the conferences, ascribes this mainly to the influence of certain others, 'some of the bed-chamber and higher,' whose weaker judgments it was the King's misfortune to have permitted to sway his own †.

He received the Commissioners with courtesy; he feasted them in his Court at Christ

* Viccars's Parl. Chron. Mercurius Rusticus. Clarendon. Hist. Reb.

† Whitelocke's Memorials.

Church ; he occasionally even condescended to share the entertainment of the Earl of Northumberland, who kept a magnificent and costly table for the Commissioners, and to accept presents of wine and other dainties from them*. But, early in the armistice, he essayed to amend the terms of cessation, in order to keep his communications open with London ; and the Earl of Newport was taken at Coventry, coming from the Queen, without a pass from Sir Thomas Fairfax, and contrary to the stipulations agreed upon†. These attempts were strongly resisted by the Parliament's Commissioners. But the Close Committee in Westminster were not inclined, any more than the King, that these disputes should abruptly end the negotiation. For they had a great and difficult work in hand elsewhere, which required time, and which, in case of the King proving insincere in his professed desire for peace, it was of the utmost importance to them to conclude.

Hitherto, from the breaking out of the war, Scotland had preserved a careful neutrality.

* Whitelocke's Memorials.

† Weekly Intelligencer.

She had been content that the dispute should be waged by others, though not insensible of the deep interest which she had in the result. From the struggle into which she had entered for the security of her National Church she had been relieved only by the events which had turned the King's whole attention to what was going on nearer home. She dreaded lest any issue, either of treaty or of arms, disadvantageous to the Parliament, might be followed by a renewed attempt on the King's part to extinguish that spark of the Genevan discipline and doctrine in his northern kingdom which had kindled and spread through the South among the materials with which he had vainly endeavoured to smother it up. Argyle was for an open junction with the cause of the English Parliament. But most of the other Covenanters, having parted with the King on such good terms, and having, since that time, received no provocation of a strictly national sort, and moreover, being neutralized by the influence of the Marquis of Hamilton, did not choose to risk anything by joining in the general cause with the

Parliamentary Leaders of England. They had therefore coldly met all the overtures made to them for assistance. But the time was now come when Scotland saw her interest in bearing a share in the arrangement of the treaty. Henderson, whose abilities and favour with the King, marked him as a fit person to conduct such a conference on her behalf, was now therefore despatched, at the head of a deputation of Ministers of the Kirk, to Oxford. Their propositions, however, were strictly confined to the project of a settlement of Ecclesiastical affairs ; in which, they contended, the Kirk should take part. Meanwhile, the King's proposals to the Parliament's Commissioners varied almost daily, and soon took a shape which gave little reason to expect a peaceful issue. He stipulated for a surrender, at the outset, of all the forts, magazines, towns, ships, and revenue, into his own hands, and that ' all illegal ' power claimed or acted by orders of Parliament be disclaimed.' This was no less than proposing to the Parliament to disarm, and deprive themselves of all further power to raise troops or money, promising in return to

‘ execute all laws concerning Popery or Reformation,’ and afterwards, ‘ to try *per pares* all persons excepted against in the treaty *.’

Yet did these hopeless conferences endure for more than a month; the King manifesting, says Whitelocke, ‘ his great parts and abilities, strength of reason, and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him, wherein he allowed all freedom, and would himself sum up the arguments, and give a most clear judgment upon them.’ Upon the great subject of difficulty, respecting the Parliament’s not giving away the means of defence untill the other terms should have been carried into effect, the King at length ‘ said he was fully satisfied, and promised to give the Commissioners his answer in writing, according to their desire; but, because it was then past midnight, he would have it drawn up the next morning, as it was now agreed upon.’ They returned to their lodgings ‘ full of joyful hopes.’ ‘ But instead of that answer which they expected, and were promised, the King gave them a

* Whitelocke’s Memorials.

‘ paper quite contrary to what was concluded
‘ the night before, and very much tending to
‘ the breach of the treaty. They did humbly
‘ expostulate this with his Majesty, and
‘ pressed him upon his royal word, and the ill
‘ consequences which they feared would fol-
‘ low upon this his new paper. But the King
‘ told them he had altered his mind, and
‘ that this paper which he now gave them
‘ was his answer which he was now resolved
‘ to make upon their last debate*.’ This
answer was that, as soon as he should be
satisfied in his first proposition, namely, the
surrender of the forts, towns, magazines,
navy, and revenue, and as soon as the mem-
bers of both Houses should be restored, and
he and they ‘ secured from tumultuous as-
‘ semblies, (which he conceived could not
‘ be otherwise done but by adjourning the
‘ Parliament to some place twenty miles
‘ from London, such as the Houses should
‘ agree upon,) he would consent to the dis-
‘ banding of the armies, and would return
‘ speedily to his Parliament. This being in-
‘ timated to the Commissioners, they dis-

* Whitelocke's Memorials.

‘suaded the sending of it, as fearing it might
‘break off the treaty, and the improbability
‘that the Houses would adjourn and leave
‘the city of London, their best friends and
‘strength, and put a discontent upon them.
Such is the account of this unhappy transaction, written, after the Restoration, by White-
locke, who was himself the witness of what
he relates.

Thus, then, was the last cherished chance of peace destroyed, and on the 15th of April the Commissioners left Oxford in obedience to a peremptory order of recall. But, while the last negotiations were proceeding, Prince Rupert had recommenced his incursions into Buckinghamshire with a large force. On Monday morning, the 13th of March, he again appeared, with 6000 men, and the King’s life guard, and the black regiment, at the village of Stone, within two miles of Aylesbury. But the news of the intended enterprise having reached the Parliament the day before, Hampden and Stapleton had ‘posted away to their ‘charges*.’ With their regiments, and those of Goodwyn and Homestead,

* Kingdome’s Weekly Intelligencer.

which lay at Wycombe, in all about 3000 horse and foot, they set forth to reinforce Colonel Bulstrode, who commanded at Aylesbury. They were joined on their march by Colonel Mills, with a regiment of dragoons from Beaconsfield; so that, early on the morning of Prince Rupert's intended attack, the town was found thronged with a powerful force for its defence. It now became their duty to endeavour to protect the country round from pillage, which had already commenced. The Prince had begun to retire, but had detached Lord Carnarvon to his right, who entered the town of Wendover, and, having plundered it, proceeded towards Chesham, where he met a few of the Parliament's horse, whom he routed and forced back into Misenenden. On rejoining Rupert that night, he found him in full retreat, laying waste, as he passed, the villages which lay on his road to Oxford. But, towards the morning, the Prince hastened his retreat by Brill, his rear-guard severely harassed by repeated charges, and, moreover, having received the alarm that Lord Essex was moving to intercept him

at Thame. On the 24th, he resumed his enterprise with an increased power, and ten pieces of ordnance—but with no better success. The disposition of the Parliament's troops was now complete ; the country people all along his line of march on the alert ; a large force in position before Aylesbury ; and Hampden's brigade, joined with the main body under the Earl of Essex, on his flank near Thame, and menacing Oxford, in the event of his further advance*.

Before the Commissioners had left Oxford, and while the King was still anxious to avoid making such a movement as must fix upon him in person the reproach of having broken the armistice in those parts, Rupert traversed the whole of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire with his cavalry, and, putting himself at the head of that army which had remained inactive since the Earl of Northampton's death, on Easter Monday he took Birmingham by assault. Of all his acts of cruelty and rapacity, none are a fouler stain upon

* Whitelocke's Memorials. Perfect Diurnal, from March 6th to 27th. Speciall and Remarkable Passages, from March 16th to 23d.

his memory, than those which, without provocation or excuse, he perpetrated against this town after all resistance was at an end. There had been nothing done by the defenders of Birmingham which justified any extraordinary severity. The inhabitants, it is true, had strongly and uniformly attached themselves to the party and fortunes of Lord Brook. They had twice gallantly defended their town, but, in those defences, they had shewn no spirit and done no act contrary to the acknowledged usages of war. On this occasion, they had been left defenceless, at the mercy of a powerful army. But mercy there was none. The town was sacked and pillaged, and, the night after it was entered, nearly one half was burned to the ground by the furious soldiery. Without delay, moving into Staffordshire, the Prince laid siege to Lichfield, and took that place also. But Lichfield was saved from a like vengeance by a peremptory letter dispatched by the King, with a postscript from Secretary Nicholas; both of which, though written in terms which might not offend the Prince or discredit him with the army, sufficiently

mark, in the way of advice, what Charles felt of the wanton violence of his nephew's conduct*.

And now the judges' sessions of Oyer and Terminer were suspended by message from the Houses, 'untill it should please God to 'end these distractions between King and 'people.' This consequence of civil war, long deprecated, long delayed, had become inevitable. The course of the common law was stopped through the land. It had hitherto been wondrously maintained in a country beset by fighting armies. But the Great Seal was in the King's hands, and, under the guise of general justice, commissions had for some time been issued only to such judges as were with the King or of his party; and the cases brought before them bore relation all to state matters. Moreover, the King now issued a proclamation for hold-

* 'A Message with a Letter from his Majesty to Prince Rupert 'at or before the time of the taking of Lichfield and the Close; willing and commanding Prince Rupert not to use any cruelty upon 'the inhabitants of the aforesaid city,' &c., with a postscript from Sec. Nicholas, concerning 'His Majesty's reall intentions how 'your princely thoughts ought to be steered in your resolutions and 'all your warlike affairs and enterprizes. April 18.—In Mr. Staunton's Collection.

ing the Easter term at Oxford instead of Westminster, and requiring all the judges to attend him there*. For some time after the commencement of the war, the power of the law had been preserved, respected, and duly administered, on both sides. The judges had gone their circuits, passing with flags of truce through the districts held by opposite armies, and holding their courts with sheriffs who at other times headed the levies of their respective counties in the field. And it is remarkable and memorable to all posterity, and glorious to the character of our country, that, throughout this great struggle, from first to last, there is no instance on record of private assassination or popular massacre; nor of plunder, except under the orders of war. ‘Non internecinum inter cives fuisse bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certasset†.’ Doubtless, on both sides, as must ever be when interests lie deep, and rising passions overflow, and where the war is carried on by small detached parties of ill-disciplined troops, often acting under feelings

* Continuation of Special Passages, from 13th to 20th of April.

† Tit. Liv.

of local feud,—the work of spoliation was carried on with more eagerness and severity where there was a spirit of personal or family animosity to be gratified. There were confiscations, there was free quarter occasionally allowed, but much oftener restrained; and private pillage there was none. What very strongly marks this is the loud complaining, by the journalists, on both sides, of the enormities done by the troops, but which, when specified, even with all the exaggeration of party recitals of events then fresh, appear to have been few, and, with one or two great exceptions, trifling. These accounts are full of petty inflated details of such atrocities as those committed upon the furniture and wine-cellars of Sir Robert Minshull's house at Bourton*, or of Lord Say's at Broughton†; a minister of the gospel led astride upon a bear‡, or bed-tickings and curtains cut to pieces and household stuff destroyed at Brentford§; now and then recounting, in terms of deep horror or of vast commendation, a practical jest like that of the Parlia-

* *Mercurius Rusticus*.

† *Mercurius Rusticus*.

‡ *Vicar's Parl. Chron.*

§ *Special Passages*.

ment's soldiers eating up the batch of apples which Mrs. Armitage, the wife of the clergyman of Wendover, had baked for Prince Rupert's troopers*.

The instances of sanguinary cruelty, which find their place among the stories of these wars, were of acts done in military execution : no secret murder, no bands of freebooters assembling for spoil between the quarters of the armies or among the villages deserted by their fighting men, no savage outbreak of a licentious rabble, disfigured the grave severity of this mighty conflict. An honourable memorial of the comportment of the English people in those unhappy times.

The suspension of commissions of Oyer and Terminer did not last beyond a few months. No sooner had the Parliament resolved to make a Great Seal of its own than the common law courts again sat throughout the realm ; and Hutton and Davenport, assisted by Maynard, Glyn, Wylde, and Rolls, for the Parliament, and Chief Justice

* A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament, Tuesday, 21st of March.

Heath and Ryves for the King, tried causes under the authority of the two Seals of England; the King's being in the hands of the Lord Keeper Littleton, and Whitelocke being appointed by the Parliament to hold theirs.

On the 15th of April, the day on which the treaty was formally declared by both parties to be at an end, the Earl of Essex marched his whole army to besiege Reading. Reading had been carefully fortified, and the three entrances, by Forbury, Harrison's barn, and Pangbourne-lane, covered with works; some reliefs had been sent in by water, but still there was a great want both of provisions and ammunition. Hampden, commanding the advance guard, broke ground within a short distance of the town during that night, taking advantage of the hedges and banks to shelter his working parties. On the afternoon of the next day, the army being strengthened by three regiments of foot coming up by Sonning and Cavesham with Lord Grey, the cannonade was opened from the trenches and batteries, hastily thrown up to the south, between the Thames and Kennett, and was briskly answered from the town. Towards

the evening, Sir Arthur Aston, the governour, having received a grievous blow on the head from a falling tile, was disabled from further duty, and the command of the garrison devolved on Colonel Fielding*. The King, having made preparation to relieve the town, set forward early on the morning of the 24th to Wallingford. Two days before, an attempt of the same sort had been made by Vavasour, which was defeated with great slaughter by Colonel Middleton.

In the collection of manuscripts at Stowe is a journal of these transactions, written by Sir Edward Deering, who was present with the King during the attempted relief. Charles established his head-quarters at Wallingford; and, after dining at Mr. Molyn's house, went round the fortifications, and passed that evening in preparations for his attack. He took up the ground for his army about two miles before Wallingford, and gave orders that all should be in readiness for moving at five in the morning. At day-break, having slept, the night before, in the

* Letter to the Speaker, from Hampden, Stapleton, and Goodwyn, King's Collect., Brit. Mus.

governour's apartments at the castle, he mounted, having his household, heralds, and guard of gentlemen-pensioners, in attendance; and with him went forth his own troop of horse, consisting of a great number of persons of high quality, commanded by the Lord Bernard Stuart *, brother to the Duke of Richmond. Another troop followed, composed of their servants, under the command of Sir William Killegrew, with the baggage of the King and of his retinue. The army, being forty-five troops of horse, and nine regiments of foot, besides dragoons and artillery, now marched in two divisions; the one, with General Ruthven, straight upon the town of Reading; the other, commanded by the King in person, upon a road to the left, towards Caversham, where the two divisions again met, with the intention of surprizing the besiegers' quarters, and taking their works in reverse. Here the fight began, and soon became general,—the Parliamentarians having enclosed the rear of their works, and turning

* The Lord Bernard Stuart is erroneously stated, in page 302, to have fallen at the battle of Edge Hill. This mistake was copied from one of the Parliament's returns.

a great part of their battering train upon the King's troops as they advanced, at the same time filling the hedge-rows on the flanks with musquetry, and having two regiments of infantry (Colonel Barclay's and Lord Roberts's) within the lines opposite, ready to act on any point. The King's troops, however, received no effectual check until they reached Caversham bridge, which General Ruthven endeavoured to force with his whole power, under cover of his guns, 'some of which were so large,' says Dr. Coates, 'that they discharged balls of twenty-four pounds weight,' a calibre of artillery scarcely ever before used in the field. But, repulsed here, after a long and bloody struggle, the Cavaliers retired upon Wallingford, making no further attack.

And, this enterprize having failed, the town surrendered. For, unknown to the King, on the morning on which he moved to the relief, the garrison had hung out a white flag from the walls, had sounded a parley, and were actually treating, hostages having been exchanged, and commissioners from both sides sitting at Sir Francis Knowles's house, while the armies were engaged.

On the next day, the capitulation was signed; by which, on the morning of the 27th, the garrison marched out with the honours of war, but leaving ten pieces of ordnance, their stores, and prisoners in the town, and engaging to retire directly to Oxford, without committing any hostilities in their way. Hampden and Skippon were instantly sent in alone, with a few soldiers and a working party, to view the town, an alarm having been spread that some of the works were mined and slow matches left burning: but, in the evening, the Earl of Essex, with his whole army, entered. The recent conduct of Prince Rupert at Birmingham had so inflamed the anger of the Parliament's troops, that it was by the utmost exertions of their officers that they could be restrained from outrage. It was with difficulty that they were held from violating the treaty, and attacking the King's troops marching out; their rage being increased by seeing the waggons of the retiring cavaliers laden with much more than they were entitled by the capitulation to carry away;—'much unlawful baggage,' says the *Mercurius Bellicus*, 'be-

‘sides, of women, great, though not good, ‘store.’ The conduct of the Earl of Essex, and the other officers, was scrupulously honourable and just; and by an issue of twelve shillings to each man, from the military chest, in lieu of plunder, the threatened disorders were stayed. It was not, however, till the Sunday following that discipline was quite restored. On that day, publick thanksgivings were offered up through the town; all the churches were thronged with the soldiery, and the preachers effectually quenched the flame which the leaders had had only power enough to restrain*.

Colonel Fielding was instantly brought before a Council of War at Oxford to answer for the surrender. The indignation of the King, the court, and the whole army, was intense against him who had delivered up a place to an enemy in face of a royal army

* These details of the siege and surrender are taken from Dr. Coates's papers; ‘Mercurius Bellicus, being the fourth intelligence from Reading, April the last;’ ‘Joyful Intelligence from our Camp at Reading, John Alexander, April 27th;’ and Hampden's, Stapleton's, and Goodwyn's letter to the Speaker; all in the King's Coll. Brit. Mus.: likewise Mercurius Aulicus; and Sir Edward Deering's Journal, in the MS. Coll. at Stowe.

fighting to relieve it, when, as it was urged, the King depended on his seconding the attempted relief by a vigorous sally of the whole garrison. With such feelings arrayed against him Fielding was not likely to have his case fairly judged. It was in vain he pleaded that the negotiations had been begun before he had any knowledge of his Majesty's intended enterprise; that, before the action, the treaty was in progress, and that his honour was engaged to the enemy, not at such a moment to 'defy them, to break off.' Those who had advanced on Brentford during a treaty, and harassed the country round Oxford, for weeks, during an armistice, were little disposed to listen to a justification of the surrender of Reading, upon the plea of faith to be kept with rebels. In vain did Hampden, Stapleton, and Skippon, offer, if safe conduct might be given them, to come before the Council as witnesses in Fielding's behalf that the negotiation was justified in the beginning by dearth of food and stores, and the surrender demanded in the end by engagement; and thus a brave and faithful officer, distinguished by many forepast services to the King's cause,

was found guilty on a mixed charge of cowardice and treason, and sentenced to an ignominious death. Charles reprieved him at the last moment, when the soldiers were under arms in Oxford streets, and the crowd assembled round the scaffold. But the revenge of the court was fully wreaked upon Fielding in the destruction of his character.

The occupation of Reading was of great importance to the Parliament's interest. But the immediate result of it was a great calamity in their army. The unhealthy state in which the town had been left by the former garrison, and the closely crowded lodgement of the victors for some weeks after their entry, produced a fever and ague among their ranks, the effects of which were scarcely mitigated by the withdrawal of the greater part of them to quarters round, in a country now left unusually damp by heavy rains. Sickness, and many other causes of discontent, raised a mutinous spirit, and, on orders being given for marching to the cantonments near Reading, some regiments refused to put themselves under arms. Among these was Hampden's. Their leader was absent at

Westminster. He instantly hastened to subdue the storm by his presence, and it was by his courage, address, and popularity, that the mutineers were again reduced to discipline and duty *.

But more serious discontents even than these, and in higher quarters, distracted the affairs of the Parliament. Up to this time, and from that of the Edge Hill fight, the Close Committee had seen the genius and the resolution of Hampden in conflict with the timorous counsels of Essex, in all his latter views of state policy, and in most of his operations of war. The evil influence of the Lord General's inactive temper was shewn in the unresisted advantages reaped by the Royal party. In Staffordshire and Northamptonshire, cities were taken, within reach of support, yet unsupported. The Queen's forces had increased and become formidable in the North, where Fairfax was cramped by his orders. Waller, in Herefordshire, had been unable to profit by his successes; and the campaign in the west was starved for want of necessary supplies. And

* Dr. Coates's Papers, May 26. Mercurius Civicus.

all this because no decisive movement was made by the army covering London, to occupy the King's attention, by which, if it had failed to bring the war to an instant close, it might at least have obliged the King to fall back from Oxford, and have afforded succour to the cause in other parts. The disheartening aspect of things had its effect upon the politicks of many of the party. The less courageous, and the less faithful, were endeavouring to make what terms they could with the King for their own safety. The fruit of those opportunities which the long protracted conferences at Oxford had afforded to the King, for detaching many powerful persons, some of the commissioners themselves, from their engagements to the Parliament, had now become manifest. The Earls of Northumberland and Holland made their submission and joined the Court; the latter of these, under circumstances of humiliation, so mortifying to his spirit, that, before long, his wounded pride again led him back to rejoin the cause to which he had not virtue enough to cleave in its adversity. Edmund Waller,

who had also been on that commission, was detected, with Tomkins his brother-in-law, Chaloner, and a few other subordinate agents, in their wild and treacherous plot to deliver over their party to destruction. During the treaty of Oxford, the King's friends in the city, among whom was Sir Nicholas Crispe, a rash partisan of the Royal cause, had engaged to seize the Parliament and the Metropolis. The commission of array, under which they were to act, when the scheme should be ripe for action, was entrusted to the care of the Lady Aubigny, who came up to London with a pass from the Parliament under the pretext of family affairs. The conspiracy was discovered to Pym by a servant of Tomkins. Among those apprehended and tried, was Mr. Alexander Hampden; a name which, probably out of reverence to the memory of his illustrious kinsman, is kept out of sight by almost all the Parliamentary writers in their narratives of this transaction. 'Ne in tali facinore optimi hujusce nominis ulla fieret mentio.'

'Waller, a member of the House of Commons, Tomkins, Chaloner, and others,' says

Whitelocke; ‘ *those* who were engaged in
‘ this conspiracy, of which Mr. Tomkins
‘ and Mr. Chaloner were found guilty and
‘ executed for it,’ says Edmund Ludlow.
‘ One plot,’ says Mrs. Hutchinson, who dis-
guises nothing for interest or fear, ‘ conducted
‘ by Mr. Waller, and carried on by many dis-
‘ affected persons in the citty, was now taking
‘ effect, to the utter subversion of the Parlia-
‘ ment and People: but that God by his pro-
‘ vidence brought it timely to light, and the
‘ authours were condemned, and some exe-
‘ cuted. But Waller, for being more a knave
‘ than the rest, and peaching his complices,
‘ was permitted to buy his life for 10,000*l*.’ Of
those who had sided with the Parliament, all
are silent respecting the name of Alexander
Hampden, except Rushworth, who details
everything. ‘ May 19:’ says Dugdale in his
Diary, ‘ Mr. Hampden sent with a message
‘ for treaty, and stayed.’ He was apprehended
on the 21st.

Alexander Hampden had indeed always
been about the Court and person of the King,
and against him there is but this mitigated
reproach that, for the advancement of a cause

to which he had throughout attached himself, he, under pretence of negotiation, became a party in a plot which, both on account of the means and the associates employed in it, a high sense of honour should have bid him shun. But no baseness can be conceived greater than Edmund Waller's. Formerly, officious in his services to the Parliamentary leaders, he had distinguished himself by the virulence of his invective against those who were then sinking under the power of the House of Commons; now, forward in the design to deliver up to ruin and destruction the cause in which he had engaged, and the friends and kindred who had trusted him, he was cowardly and begged their mercy when the peril recoiled upon himself.

The following letter is in Lord Wharton's papers in the Bodleian, in which he meanly prays the favour of Arthur Goodwyn to save him, in regard to the memory of John Hampden, who was among those whom the plot was to have delivered up prisoners to the King.

‘ SIR,

‘ If you will be pleased to remember
‘ what your poore neighbour hath been, or
‘ did knowe what his hearte now is, you
‘ might perhaps be enclined to contribute
‘ something to his preservation. I hearde of
‘ your late being in towne, but am so closelye
‘ confined that I knowe not how to present
‘ my humble serviss unto you. Alas, Sir,
‘ what should I say for myself? Unless your
‘ owne good nature and proneness to compas-
‘ sion encline you towards me, I can use no
‘ argument, having deserved so ill. And yet
‘ ’tis possible you may remember I have here-
‘ tofore done something better, when God
‘ blest me so as to take you and my deare
‘ cosen, (your late friend now with God,) for
‘ my example. Sir, as you succede him in
‘ the general hopes of your country, so do
‘ you likewise in my particular hope. I
‘ knowe you would not willingly have let that
‘ fall oute, which he, (if alive,) would have
‘ wisht otherwise. Be not offended, (I be-
‘ seech you,) if I put you in minde what you
‘ were plesed to say to your servant, when
‘ the life of that worthy person was in dan-

‘ger, in a noble cause as anye is now in the
‘country. You asked me then if I were con-
‘tent my kinsman’s bloode should be spilt ;
‘and truly I thinke you found not by my
‘words onely, but my actions also, my earnest
‘desire to preserve and defend him, having
‘had the honour to be employed among those
‘who persuaded the Shreeves with the trayned
‘bands to protect him and the rest in the
‘same danger to the House. As then you
‘were plesed to remember I was of his
‘bloode, so I beseech you forgett it not now ;
‘and then I shall have some hopes of your
‘favour. Sir, my first request is, that you
‘will be nobly plesed to use your interest
‘with Dr. Dorislaus to shew me what lawful
‘favour he may in the tryall ; and, if I am
‘forfeited to justice, that you will plese
‘to encline my Lord General to grant me his
‘pardon. Your interest, both with his Ex-
‘cellence and in the House, is very great ;
‘but, I will not direct your wisdome which
‘way to favour me ; onely give me leave to
‘assure you that, (God with his grace assist-
‘ing the resolution he has given me,) you shall
‘never have cause to repent the saving a

‘ life, which I shall make haste to render you
‘ again in the cause you maintain, and ex-
‘ press myself during all the life you shall
‘ lengthen,

‘ SIR,

‘ Your most humble, faithfull and

‘ obedient Servant,

‘ EDMUND WALLER.’

Waller's was but one, the most important, and the last, of a train of conspiracies and defections, which, exploding separately, were dealt with, and their mischiefs repaired, in detail; but which, if they had all taken effect together, would probably have shaken the power of the Parliament to its foundations. Sir Hugh Cholmeley, who commanded a brigade in the North, went over to the Queen; but, of his whole force, he could prevail on only twenty troopers to accompany him in his desertion. Cheshire, his native county, was strong for the King; but Lancashire, where he had raised the principal part of his force, was equally so for the Parliament. Manchester was already beginning to be an important trading town. ‘ It had declared, magisterially,’ says

Lord Clarendon, 'for the Parliament'; and Lord Derby, with all his chivalrous fidelity to the King, was, by disposition, indolent, and unable to cope with the vigorous and earnest spirit of that county.

Sir John Hotham and his son had, for some time, been lukewarm in the discharge of their appointed duty, and, whether from jealousy of the ascendancy of the Fairfaxes, or hopeless of the issue of the war, had remained motionless within the walls of Hull. They were now discovered in a conspiracy, with some of the other officers, to deliver up that place to the Queen. It was detected by Moyer and Ripley, two captains of merchantmen lying in the river, who, instantly mustering the crews of all the ships, seized the three blockhouses by surprise, and, proceeding to the castle, harangued the troops, got possession of the main guard and magazine, and put Captain Hotham, with such of the conspirators as they found there, into irons. Sir John Hotham fled to Beverley; where Colonel Boynton, his cousin, upon intelligence from Hull, went out to meet him, and took his horse by the bridle,

saying,—‘ Sir John, you are my kinsman, and one whom I have much honoured ; but I must now waive all this, and arrest you as a traitor to the kingdom.’ And the conspirators were sent up prisoners to London, to expiate their treachery on the scaffold*. By these prompt and decisive acts the great position of Hull, with all its important garrison and stores, was saved to the Parliament; and a plot, which would have given all Yorkshire, to the South of the Humber, into the Queen’s hands, was at once defeated and undone.

Almost at the same time an enterprize of the same sort failed at Lincoln. It had been undertaken by two of Hotham’s captains, who were to have opened the gates of that town to a detachment of the Queen’s troops. They were seized, together with about sixty cavaliers, who had already entered the city in disguise, by the Mayor, who, taking command of the garrison and batteries, opened their fire on the assailants advancing in force on the Gainsborough side from Newark, and obliged them to retire.

* Viccars. Parl. Chron.

From the central army, even from the head-quarters of the Lord General himself, desertions were not unfrequent. Among others who went over at this time, was Urrie, of whom it may be truly said that, though his services proved of great advantage to the King, his character had been long so odious, that his example rather did benefit than injury to the Parliament's cause, as deterring any man who had a care for honourable reputation from being seen to follow him in his course. Failing of promotion with Lord Essex, he fled to Oxford, giving to Prince Rupert an able and active assistant in all the business of partizan warfare, and carrying with him information and experience of the disposition and strength of all the quarters lying between Oxford and the capital*.

Hampden, incessantly, but in vain, endeavoured to promote some great enterprize,

* Lord Clarendon, endeavouring to apologise for Urrie's treachery, states that he had, for some time before, withdrawn himself from the active service of the Parliament. This is, however, clearly contradicted by several of the Parliament's papers, printed just before his desertion, which recount skirmishes in which he bore an active part in command of parties of Lord Essex's horse.

which might restore the cause and give heart to its supporters. But, failing in this, he served to the last under Essex, with a zeal as obedient as if those means had been adopted which his superiour mind clearly saw were necessary for the success and credit of their arms.

Reading having surrendered, the troops who had been engaged in that siege were not directed to any forward movement; they were not effectually removed from the neighbourhood of contagious disease, nor was the position turned to account as the base of any new set of operations. To prevent the sickness spreading, as well as to cover the country which principally produced his supplies, Essex extended his quarters greatly, but still continued to act on the defensive, thus imposing on himself the necessity of protecting a lengthened and more vulnerable line, while the enemy was left unembarrassed and at leisure to choose both the time and point of attack. Whenever Rupert wanted cattle or any other provisions for his troops, he seized them from some part of these feeble and ill-connected lines. The remonstrances

of the troops could no longer be suppressed, and Hampden was again loudly named to the Parliament as the fit person to place at their head. To remove from himself all suspicion of a querulous or selfish ambition, and to exhibit to murmuring spirits a great example of patient subordination, he placed himself in constant and personal intercourse with the chief whose plans he disapproved, and many of whose qualities he held in disesteem. Meanwhile, the distant cantonments in the country round Thame and Wycombe, worn by fierce and wasteful sickness, by inglorious suffering, and deep discontent, were nightly harassed by the enemy. Rupert's zeal was unremitting: while Essex slumbered at his post, and while that sullen recklessness of it's own fate which soon shows through an army distrustful of it's chief was spread from end to end of the Parliament's long line, the King's troopers were ever alert, and generally successful in their enterprizes, and therefore always hopeful, and always formidable. Not a week, scarcely a night, passed, but they were heard laying waste some defenceless district,—worse than defenceless, because

occupied by the wearied and the disheartened, inviting attack, and never prepared to repel it. The country round suited well the activity of the young Prince and his cavalry. The gorges of the hills, lined with deep tracts of beech woods, shrouded his stealthy march through the night, upon the flank or rear of his sleeping enemy; and at daybreak would he pour forth his squadrons sparkling like a torrent on the plain, which lay before him open for the manoeuvre or the charge. Often would a village, many a mile from the King's country, suddenly wake to a dreadful irruption of horsemen, who came thundering in from the side opposite to that of his distant lines; the track of the night march marked from afar by the blaze of burning houses and the tumults of posts surprized, and the morning retreat by the dust of columns returning to Oxford and leaving behind them a region of desolation and panick.

In these expeditions the renegade Urrie was eminently qualified to bear his part. His knowledge of the country, and of the points occupied, as well as his address and experience in that sort of service, specially re-

commended him to the Prince and his council of war. It was only the opinion which all men had of the baseness of his motives, and the hazard which there must always be in employing such agents where a second treachery might produce the utmost mischief, that could make the cavaliers distrustful of their new partizan, But these considerations added to Urrie's eagerness for early action. Nor was it many days before he found the occasion he wished for. He planned the expedition which ended in the memorable fight of Chalgrove; an enterprize not very important in it's promise, nor in it's success, otherwise than that the skirmish to which it led was fatal to Hampden, at the time when his powers were in their fullest vigour, when his military abilities were ripening by experience of war, and when prospects were daily opening to him for exercising them on a scale of larger responsibility.

A detachment of Essex's troops had, two days before, made a feeble show of attack upon one of the King's outposts at Islip. These small disconnected enterprizes were always dangerous for them to undertake,

the King's troops acting from a centre, and being able to bring a powerful body, from within or near the walls of Oxford, to any point that was menaced. The Parliamentarians, meeting with a larger force than they had expected, had retreated without coming to action. On Saturday, the 17th of June, about four o'clock in the afternoon, Rupert's trumpets sounded through the streets of Oxford, and the cavalry were called to general muster and parade. In less than half an hour, the column had passed Magdalen Bridge, and were in march for the Parliament's country, joined, as they went, by the infantry, who had been sent on, the day before, from the rendezvous at Islip, to different stations from which they might fall in upon the line of the cavalry's advance.

Forming a body of about two thousand, they proceeded cautiously towards the Chilterns, crossing the Cherwell at Chiselhampton Bridge, and leaving Thame, where Essex lay, but two or three miles on their left. Then, burying themselves in the Woodlands, somewhere about Stoken Church, they proceeded to the left, nearly opposite to the

hamlets of Postcombe and Lewknor*. It was now too late to reach Wycombe. Some delays with the infantry had made that night's expedition longer than they had intended. They began their attack, at about three in the morning, upon Postcombe. Here was only a troop of horse, who, mounting as the dragoons appeared at the street's end, after a slight skirmish, retired in good order, leaving only a few prisoners behind. But Rupert pursued the work of havock rapidly. At Chinnor, about two miles off, there lay, according to Urrie's information, a stronger party. Thither Rupert hastened with his whole force of cavalry, and, sweeping off the picket as he galloped in, instantly dismounted his headmost regiment of four squadrons. He entered the quarters, slaughtering and capturing all within; while the mounted carabineers who lined the village street and the backs of the houses and barns where the Parliament's soldiers lay, shot down those who attempted

* 'His Highnesse Prince Rupert's late beating up the rebels' quarters, &c., and his victory in Chalgrove-field, on Sunday morning, June 18.' Printed at Oxford, by Leonard Lichfield, printer to the University, 1643.

escape. They then set fire to Chinnor, and left it. In this place, according to the account published at Oxford, above fifty were killed and about six score prisoners were dragged away half naked at the horses' sides to the infantry, who were in full march under the ledge of hills to the left, to secure the main road back to Oxford. Here they narrowly missed taking a rich prize of money on its way to the Earl of Essex; but those who were with it drove the carts into a wood, and escaped. The sun had now risen—the alarm had spread, and a party of the Parliament's horse appeared on the side of the Beacon-hill*. Hampden had very lately and strongly remonstrated upon the loose and defenceless condition in which the pickets were spread out over a wide and difficult country. He had, the day before, visited Major Gunter's cavalry in and about Tetsworth. With the foresight of an active spirit, he had established a chain of communication between the principal posts to the eastward, and, the day before, had despatched his own lieutenant to Lord Essex, to urge the strengthen-

* 'His Highness Prince Rupert's late beating up,' &c. &c.

ing of the line by calling in the remote pickets from Wycombe, and from those very villages which were now suffering from Rupert's attack. Had this advice been adopted when it was given, that morning's disaster at Chinnor would have been spared, and a force would have been collected on the main line of the Stoken Church Road, sufficient to have stopped and defeated Rupert on his advance, or effectually cut off all possibility of his retreat.

Hampden had obtained, in early life, from the habits of the chase, a thorough knowledge of the passes of this country. It is intersected, in the upper parts, with woods and deep chalky hollows, and, in the vales, with brooks and green lanes; the only clear roads along the foot of the hills, from east to west, and these not very good, being the two ancient Roman highways, called the upper and lower Ickenild way. Over this district he had expected that some great operation would be attempted on the King's part, to force the posts round Thame, and turn the whole eastern flank of the army. To this neighbourhood he had, the evening before,

repaired, and had lain that night in Watlington*. On the first alarm of Rupert's irruption, he sent off a trooper to the Lord General at Thame, to advise moving a force of infantry and cavalry to Chiselhampton Bridge, the only point at which Rupert could recross the river. Some of his friends would have dissuaded him from adventuring his person with the cavalry on a service which did not properly belong to him, wishing him rather to leave it to those officers of lesser note, under whose immediate command the pickets were. But, wherever danger was, and hope of service to the cause, there Hampden ever felt that his duty lay. He instantly mounted, with a troop of Captain Sheffield's horse, who volunteered to follow him, and, being joined by some of Gunter's dragoons, he endeavoured,

* It is traditionarily said, that a military chest of money was left at the house of one Robert Parslow, where Hampden lay that night, and that it was never called for after; by which means, Parslow was enabled to bequeath a liberal legacy to the poor of that parish. On every anniversary of his funeral, Nov. 19th, a bell tolls in Watlington, from morning till sunset, and twenty poor men are provided with coats. These particulars I derive from the intelligent Mr. John Badcock, for forty years a resident at Pyrton and its neighbourhood, but now of St. Helen's, who wrote, in 1816, a very ingenious little *History of Watlington*.

by several charges, to harass and impede the retreat, untill Lord Essex should have had time to make his dispositions at the river. Toward this point, however, Rupert hastened, through Tetsworth, his rear guard skirmishing the whole way. On Chalgrove Field, the Prince overtook a regiment of his infantry, and here, among the standing corn, which covered a plain of several hundred acres, (then as now, unenclosed,) he drew up in order of battle. Gunter, now joining three troops of horse and one of dragoons who were advancing from Easington and Thame, over Golder Hill, came down among the enclosures facing the right of the Prince's line, along a hedge-row which still forms the boundary on that side of Chalgrove Field. The Prince with his life guards and some dragoons being in their front, the fight began with several fierce charges. And now Colonel Neale and General Percy coming up, with the Prince's left wing, on their flank, Gunter was slain and his party gave way. Yet, every moment, they expected the main body, with Lord Essex, to appear. Meanwhile, Hampden, with the two troops of Sheffield and Cross, having come

round the right of the cavaliers, advanced to rally and support the beaten horse. Every effort was to be made to keep Rupert hotly engaged till the reinforcements should arrive from Thame. Hampden put himself at the head of the attack; but, in the first charge, he received his death. He was struck in the shoulder with two carabine balls, which, breaking the bone, entered his body, and his arm hung powerless and shattered by his side. Sheffield was severely wounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy. Overwhelmed by numbers, their best officers killed or taken, the great leader of their hopes and of their cause thus dying among them, and the day absolutely lost, the Parliamentarians no longer kept their ground. Essex came up too late; and Rupert, though unable to pursue, made good his retreat across the river to Oxford*.

* These details have been taken from the account printed, by Leonard Lichfield, at the university press at Oxford, for the King; also, from *Mercurius Aulicus*, from Lord Essex's two letters, from 'The Parliament Scout,' from 'A True Relation of a Great Fight between the King's Forces and the Parliament's at Chinnor, near Thame,' &c., and 'Certaine Intelligences from different Parts of the Kingdom,' printed for the Parliament in London. There is a groundless story told, upon the authority of a nameless paper, by

Thus ended the fight of that fatal morning when Hampden shed his blood; closing the great work of his toilsome life with a brilliant reputation and an honourable death; crowned, not, as some happier men, with the

Horace Walpole, and by Echard, of Hampden having received a wound from the bursting of one of his own pistols. All the contemporary accounts, diurnals, letters, and memoirs state the details as I have given them. In the Common Place Book of Henry James Pye, late poet laureate, now in the possession of his son, the lineal descendant of Sir Robert Pye, son-in-law to Hampden, I find the following entry:—

‘In the St. James’s Chronicle for the year 1761, there is an account of the death of Mr. Hampden, different from that given by Lord Clarendon. The account is, that Sir Robert Pye, being at supper at Farringdom House with two of the Harleys and one of the Foleys, related the death of Hampden as follows:—That, at Chalgrove Field, his pistol burst, and shattered his hand in a terrible manner; that, when dying, he sent for Sir Robert Pye, his son-in-law, and told him he was in some degree accessory to his death, as he had the pistols from him. Sir Robert assured him he bought them in France of an eminent maker, and tried them himself. It appeared, on examining the other pistol, that it was loaded to the top with several supernumerary charges, owing to the negligence of his servant.’ Mr. Pye adds these words, which discredit the whole of this anonymous account:—

‘My father, on reading this account, sent to enquire of Baldwin, the printer of the paper, how he met with the anecdote, who informed him, that it was found written on a loose sheet of paper in a book that he, or some friend of his, bought out of Lord Oxford’s family. My father always questioned the authenticity of it, as my grandfather was bred up and lived with Sir Robert Pye till he was eighteen years old, and he never mentioned any such circumstance.’

renown of victory, but with a testimony, not less glorious, of fidelity to the sinking fortunes of a conflict which his genius might have more prosperously guided, and to a better issue.

‘Disce virtutem ex hunc, verumque laborem,
‘Fortunam ex aliis.’——

His head bending down, and his hands resting on his horse’s neck, he was seen riding off the field before the action was done,—‘a thing,’ says Lord Clarendon, ‘he never used to do, and from which it was concluded he was hurt.’ It is a tradition, that he was seen first moving in the direction of his father-in-law’s (Simeon’s) house at Pyrton. There he had in youth married the first wife of his love, and thither he would have gone to die. But Rupert’s cavalry were covering the plain between. Turning his horse, therefore, he rode back across the grounds of Hazeley in his way to Thame*. At the brook, which divides the parishes, he paused awhile; but, it being impossible for him in his wounded state to remount, if he had

* Told, upon the authority of Mr. Blackall, of Great Hazeley, by his grandson, to the Earl of Macclesfield.

alighted to turn his horse over, he suddenly summoned his strength, clapped spurs, and cleared the leap. In great pain, and almost fainting, he reached Thame*, and was conducted to the house of one Ezekiel Browne†, where, his wounds being dressed, the surgeons would, for a while, have given him hopes of life. But he felt that his hurt was mortal, and, indulging no weak expectations of recovery, he occupied the few days that remained to him in despatching letters of counsel to the Parliament, in prosecution of his favourite plan. While the irresolute and lazy spirit which had directed the army in the field should continue to preside in the counsel of war, Hampden had reason to despair of the great forward movement to which he had throughout looked for the success of the cause. And now the reinforcements which were pouring into Oxford from the North, and the weakened condition of the Parliament, made the issue of this more doubtful. His last urgent advice was to concentrate the position of the army

* Parliament's Scout.

† 'A True and Faithfull Narrative of the Death of Master Hampden, &c. by Edward Clough, 1643.'

covering the London road, and provide well for the threatened safety of the metropolis,—and thus to rouse the troops from the mortifying remembrance of their late disasters to vigorous preparations, which yet might lead, by a happier fortune, in turn, to a successful attack.—This was his last message ;—like that from the dying Consul, after Cannæ, to the senate of his country :—‘ *Abi, nuncia patri-
bus urbem muniant, ac, priusquam hostis
victor adveniat, præsidiis firment. Me,
in hac strage meorum patere expirare, ne
aut reus e consulatu sim, aut accusator col-
legæ existam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam
meam protegam*’.*

After nearly six days of cruel suffering, his bodily powers no longer sufficed to pursue or conclude the business of his earthly work. About seven hours before his death he received the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper ; declaring, that ‘ though he could not away
with the governance of the church by bishops,
and did utterly abominate the scandalous
lives of some clergymen, he thought its doctrine in the greater part primitive and conformable to God’s word, as in Holy Scripture

* Tit. Liv., lib. xxii.

‘revealed.’ He was attended by Dr. Giles, the rector of Chinnor, with whom he had lived in habits of close friendship, and Dr. Spurstow, an independent minister, the chaplain of his regiment*. At length, being well nigh spent, and labouring for breath, he turned himself to die in prayer. ‘O Lord ‘God of Hosts,’ said he, ‘great is thy mercy, ‘just and holy are thy dealings unto us sinful men. Save me, O Lord, if it be thy ‘good will, from the jaws of death. Pardon ‘my manifold transgressions. O Lord, save ‘my bleeding country. Have these realms ‘in thy especial keeping. Confound and ‘level in the dust those who would rob the ‘people of their liberty and lawful prerogative. Let the King see his error, and ‘turn the hearts of his wicked counsellours ‘from the malice and wickedness of their ‘designs. Lord Jesu, receive my soul!’ He then mournfully uttered, ‘O Lord, save my ‘country—O Lord be merciful to’ and here his speech failed him. He fell back in the bed, and expired†.

* Baxter’s Life.

† Clough’s Narrative, &c. ‡ In the Ashmole Museum is a locket of plain cornelian, which, it is said, was worn upon his

It was thus that Hampden died; justifying, by the courage, patience, piety, and strong love of country, which marked the closing moments of his life, the reputation for all those qualities which had, even more than his great abilities, drawn to him the confidence and affections of his own party, and the respect of all. Never, in the memory of those times, had there been so general a consternation and sorrow at any one man's death as that with which the tidings were received in London, and by the friends of the Parliament all over the land*. Well was it said, in the Weekly Intelligencer of the next week, 'The loss of Colonel Hampden goeth
' near the heart of every man that loves the
' good of his king and country, and makes
' some conceive little content to be at the army
' now that he is gone The memory of
' this deceased colonel is such that in no age
' to come but it will more and more be had in
' honour and esteem; a man so religious, and
' of that prudence, judgment, temper, valour,
breast. On the silver rim in which the stone is set these words are inscribed:

' Against my king I never fight,
' But for my king, and country's right.'

* Clarendon—Hist. Reb.

‘ and integrity, that he hath left few his like
‘ behind him*.’

All the troops that could be spared from the quarters round joined to escort the honoured corpse to it's last resting place, once his beloved abode, among the hills and woods of the Chilterns. They followed him to his grave in the parish church close adjoining his mansion, their arms reversed, their drums and ensigns muffled, and their heads uncovered. Thus they marched, singing the 90th psalm as they proceeded to the funeral, and the 43rd as they returned†.

Nor was it the Parliament, and it's army, and the friends of it's cause, only, that deplored his fall. ‘ The King,’ says Sir Philip Warwick, ‘ being informed of Mr. Hampden's
‘ being wounded, would have sent him over
‘ any chirurgeon of his, if he had been want-
‘ ing ; for he looked upon his interest, if he
‘ could gain his affection, as a powerful means
‘ of begetting a right understanding between
‘ him and the two Houses.’

The rancour, with which, after his death,

* The Kingdome's Weekly Intelligencer. From Tuesday the 27th of June to Tuesday the 4th of July, 1643.

† Clough's Narrative.

his name and character were instantly assailed by the heated and servile diurnals of the Court party, was the appropriate tribute of the base to the memory of the great and good. But Charles, and such of his publick servants as were better acquainted with the probable motives of Hampden, and the objects which he pursued, were silent. While Hampden lived, the king had in the camp of his enemies the most powerful and popular man in the country, whose views were bounded by an honourable and publick-minded object; which, gained, would, at any time, through his influence, have concluded the war. To this the king always looked with confidence, in the event of his being himself obliged by some reverse of fortune to make terms with his Parliament. Hampden's counsels, and conduct as a soldier, tended, through vigorous measures, to a decisive issue. But the object was peace, and security for liberty, and the restoration of monarchy under such limitations as might be a guarantee for both. His demand for the militia to be placed for a time at the disposal of a popular body was as a provision which had been made necessary

for protecting the Houses in their debates ; not as a final scheme of settled government. His measures for the putting down of Episcopacy were the immediate consequences of a rash vote of the Lords in maintenance of the political power of an order who had, in those days, formed themselves into an obstinate faction to impede and punish the efforts which were making for publick freedom. His death left no man on the Parliament's side who had influence enough to command, or, perhaps, discretion enough to direct, terms of accommodation. To Falkland no man remained, in the party opposed to the Court, with whom to treat as an equal in virtue, wisdom, and moderation of purpose. What might have been the result if these two great men, over both of whom the grave closed in the course of the same campaign, had lived, must be matter of mere speculation. But the remarkable coincidence, in one important respect, of Falkland's views, as described by Lord Clarendon, with Hampden's, as witnessed by his comportment, and by the sorrow with which the King received the news of his fate, leaves it

matter of probability that this design at least they had in common, that, on whichever side the victory had fallen, a final settlement should be secured by that year's conflict. 'Et, in luctu, Bellum inter remedia fuit,' says Lord Clarendon, in his immortal character of his friend.

To his own party, the loss of Hampden was irreparable. It left Lord Essex uncontrouled, unexcited, by the example and ascendancy of a greater mind than his own. The events which followed justified Hampden's prognosticks, his policy, and advice. Essex failed to advance the great object of the war one step. Fairfax wanted firmness as a statesman to improve his military successes. Cromwell pursued in his wars the active course which Hampden had recommended; but Cromwell's ambition, or the varied circumstances under which he was left to act, had changed the stake for which he contended, and overthrew that monarchy which Hampden only laborued to bring back within the measured limits of the English constitution.

Of Hampden's character, it would be pre-

sumptuous to say more than what his acts tell. The words are good in which it is shortly comprised in an inscription remembered by me, on many accounts, with many feelings of affection. ‘ With great courage, and consummate abilities, he began a noble opposition to an arbitrary court, in defence of the liberties of his country; supported them in Parliament, and died for them in the Field*.’

If, in the imperfect outline, now concluded, of the principal passages of Hampden’s life, it has been shewn that his motives and conduct have been, by the passions of some writers, unfairly traduced, and that his great qualities were never exerted but in such manner as may beseem a virtuous and honourable man labouring for a great publick end, I have done all that I proposed, and the object of these Memorials has been answered.

* Inscription over the bust of Hampden in the Temple of British Worthies at Stowe.

APPENDIX.

A.

[See page 15.]

By those who doubt the reality of the hopes and intentions entertained by the court of Rome, with regard to the agency of Panzani and Rosetti, full evidence may be obtained in the work entitled ‘Guerre Civile d’Ynghilterra,’ written in 1667, by the Signore Conte Mayolino Bisaccioni, who had been, during many years, resident minister of many states at Rome, and much in the confidence of the pope. Into whatever errors the Italian diplomatist may have fallen, as to the internal politicks and disputes of England, his general reputation for abilities, his confidential intercourse with the principal Roman Catholick courts, and the insight which his position gave him into the secret correspondence of the Holy See, render his no mean authority on the subject of these negociations. In substance, the account that he gives of them is this. During the attempts to establish the English liturgy in Scotland, a division arose among the Roman Catholicks of England respecting the oath of fidelity to the King ; some objecting to it that, though

relating only to political matters, it bound them to recognize a sovereign who usurped the supremacy of the church. To adjust this difficulty the pope proposed to dispatch to England the Bishop of Calcedon, with full powers from himself. This, however, was objected to by the English Catholicks themselves, as likely, being in violation of the law, to draw down greater jealousy and, perhaps, persecution upon them. He then sent Gregorio Panzani, 'a man of great ecclesiastical intelligence,' to the Queen, 'in hopes that, while plucking out these seeds of discord, he might succeed in fostering those of the Catholick Faith in that kingdom.' He was well received by the King, and, in time, found his opportunity for proposing to him that a tribunal might be established, under an English Roman Catholick bishop, before which this difficulty might be adjusted. To which Charles demanded in return whether, in case of this bishop admitting the oath of allegiance to be taken, the pope would declare it lawful? To this demand, adroitly made by Charles, Panzani demurred, as being beyond his instructions; and, on reference to the pope, a Scotch canon of St. John of Lateran, by name George Con, was sent to act as nuncio. In his hands the negotiation stood still, owing to the jealousies felt by the English Catholicks. But, on the 16th of April 1639-40, Cardinal Rosetti, a man of the most consummate skill, was dispatched with an apostolick brief to Henrietta, 'under the pretext of a communication to her from Cardinal Barberini, but, in effect, as apostolick nuncio.' In this country

he took the secular habit, and was known by the name only of Count Rosetti, to which he was entitled by birth. 'He soon won the good opinion of both their Majesties and of the court.'—'This, which appeared the sweet spring of the Catholick religion in that country, and was budding under the soft breath of the Count Rosetti, kindled a more fierce heat than ever in the hearts of the Puritans,' who combined to abet and imitate the conduct of the Scots.

Upon the dissolution of the short Parliament, Rosetti judged the occasion ripe for proposing to the King to embrace the Catholick religion, by which not only his own subjects of that faith, 'but all the Catholick Princes of Europe would come to his assistance to root out that venomous sect (the Puritans) wherever they might be found in the kingdom, and establish his throne in security.' This proposition was backed by 'the minister of the King.' (Probably Windebanke is meant.) At this period broke out the second Scotch war. On the meeting of the long Parliament the Queen determined to demand, through Cardinal Barberini, a loan of 50,000 crowns for the payment of the northern army, 'without subjection to Parliament.' This was refused by the Cardinal, unless under the condition of Charles embracing the religion of Rome; but adding that, this condition once complied with, 'the treasury of England should be found in the castle of St. Angelo, where it remained enchained till it might serve the necessities of the Apostolick See and the Cause of the Faith. That in the

‘ Pays de Liege, France, and other neighbouring states, means might be found ; but that never had the See given succour to hereticks or schismaticks ; nor could it open a door to such an example, above all, in the case of a kingdom where liberty of conscience was established, or rather, where it was dependent on a Parliament.’ These things were communicated by the Queen to her husband ; ‘ but it was not easy to persuade a King who demanded succour, not out of zeal for religion, but to chastize his own enemies.’ The negotiation was not, however, broken off thus. Shortly after the Queen assured Rosetti, ‘ that she could not determine which was of more immediate importance, the conversion of the King or the succours against the rebels. But she promised, that whenever the King should see himself in power again, at the least, the publick worship of the Roman Catholick Church should be restored.’ The rest of this narrative, which is spread over the greater part of a volume, consists of Rosetti’s plan for inducing the two English archbishops to go to Rome to negotiate the loan, by which means he hoped to forward with them his views for the reconversion of England to the ancient faith, and it concludes with the attack made upon him by the mob, and his resolution, ‘ not, indeed, to fly the palm of martyrdom, but to save himself for the completion of his commission.’ For this purpose he retired to the house of Mary of Medicis, and having addressed a letter to the King renewing all his arguments of conversion, returned to Rome, where he was ‘ com-

‘plimented on the courage and charity with which he
‘had endeavoured to restore sight to the blind, hearing
‘to the deaf, and had endeavoured to wash the black
‘man white, and to soften stones.’

B.

[See page 20.]

THE proceedings of this committee are given at length in the journal of Sir Ralph Verney, who was one of its members. The remonstrance being read, the grievances were divided under nineteen heads, the principal of which relate to the inequality of benefices; the amount of burthen on the publick; the claim set up by the hierarchy of a divine institution; civil jurisdiction; pluralities; power to delay or withhold probates of wills, to refuse rites of marriage, and to compel subscription by penalties; the abuse of commendams in the hands of bishops; and lastly the scandalous lives of the higher clergy. The committee then took into consideration the challenge of divine right made in the Lord Archbishop's speech in the Star Chamber, and in Bishop Downham's and the Bishop of Exeter's Books, and also their claim of 'a superiority in sole ordination and sole jurisdiction, not warranted by Scripture or antiquity, by virtue of a distinct order superior to a Presbyter.' 'Yeates his mistery of the Gentiles,' (proceeds the journal,) 'saies Bishoppes are *as immediately from God as Kinges*. Swan, in fourteen pages of his sermon, calls them that deny the hierarchy of the church, 'The Bane of Religion.'—'Resolved on question that the third article (the bishops assuming sole power of ordination and jurisdiction) is a material head, and fit to

‘ be presented to the house to be considered of.’ The journal then proceeds with the charges of the committee from day to day against books and speeches which claim divine institution and jurisdiction for the hierarchy, and next enters into an elaborate and learned citation of the authorities set forth by the committee from the practice and writings of the fathers of the church, and doctrines of the early councils, to shew that (as among the Independents) the power of ordination was given to and exercised by the clergy at large, and that bishops did not hold jurisdiction alone. It was then voted by the committee that ‘ the challenge of Episcop^{le} jure divino, which is the sole power assumed by bishopps in ordination and jurisdiction by vertue of a distinct order superiour to a Presbyter, is a materiall head and fitt to bee presented to the house.’ The next day was employed by the committee in the same manner, in references to fathers and councils of the church, and then to passages in Scripture to support their citation of Augustine, Civit. Dei, to the doctrine that ‘ bish^{pp} is a name of duty and not of dignity,’ and that the jurisdiction ‘ is not in bish^{pps}, but the presbiters were equall to them in all things.’ ‘ Those that have the same name and y^e same offices in Scripture are all one. But Bish^{pps} and Presbiters have the same name and office; ergo they are all one. First named in 20 Actes, 28 verse; 1 Phil. 1 verse; 1 Pet. 5. verse 1 and 2; 1 Titus, 5, 6, 7; 1 Tim. 3 at y^e beginninge of y^e chapter: 16 Mathew, 19; the key of doctrine the key of power or discipline; 20 John 22, 23; 1 Thes. 5. 12; Heb. 13. 17; 1 Tim. 4.

‘ 14; 2 Tim. 1. 6. Mr. Selden desiers to know what is
 ‘ meant by the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction
 ‘ that the bish^{pps} nowe claime; over persons, places, and
 ‘ thinges, or causes; and what power the presbiters had
 ‘ in y^e primitive times in these 3 thinges. On these matters
 ‘ the committee next examine Dr. Burgis.’

They then proceed to the ‘ largenesse of bish^{pps} dioces,
 ‘ the inconveniences of it. Ministers are put to great
 ‘ charge and travell, and bish^{pp}’s courts are multiplid
 ‘ thereby. They canot dispatch soe much businesse them-
 ‘ selves,’ and ‘ delegatinge their power to unmeet persons.’
 The same vote respecting these. Next, abuses of con-
 firmation. ‘ The B^p. Glocester forbids to marry any
 ‘ that are not first confirmed. B. of Eli the like. The
 ‘ rubrick makes little lesse than a sacrament of it.’ Next
 ‘ Bish^{pps} claime sole probats of wills. If a legacy bee
 ‘ given to a silenced minister hee is not capable of it by
 ‘ the bish^{pp}’s lawe. Bish^{pps} had noe power in this in y^e
 ‘ primitive times. Venables gave £1000 to divers minis-
 ‘ ters. Mr. Jones gave much mony to y^e same purpose;
 ‘ but y^e Archb^{pp} of Cant. would not suffer it to bee given
 ‘ to them but to other beneficed ministers.’ Next,
 ‘ bish^{pps} consecrate churches, &c., and make it neces-
 ‘ sary. The forme of consecratinge is not alowed by
 ‘ lawe. Consecration is not necessarye, but ’tis very
 ‘ chargeable. Noe humain institution can putt any inhe-
 ‘ rent holinesse into any thinge.’ Next, ‘ bish^{pps} inhibit
 ‘ marriage at divers times of y^e yeare, at least a third
 ‘ parte. And this makes some thinke these times are

‘ more holy than others, and it is a great charge to buy
‘ licences.’ Next, ‘ bish^{pps} compose formes of publique
‘ prayer containinge matters of state; as at fasts, and y^e
‘ prayers agst the honest Scotts. Two ministers, Wilson
‘ and Bright, were suspended for not readinge it.’ Next,
‘ bish^{pps} impose oathes as of canonicall obedience, ex
‘ officio, &c. agst lawe. B^{pp}. of Chichester sweares men
‘ to obey the Kinge’s edicts, &c., oath, de stando juri et
‘ parando mandatis ecclesiæ.’ Next, ‘ subscription, they
‘ extend this beyond y^e articles of religion—many hun-
‘ dreds deprived for not subscribinge to the cañons made
‘ about 2^o Jacob.’ Next, ‘ they hold comendams, and
‘ never come att them.—B^{pp} of St. Davids and B^{pp} of
‘ Chester hold 2 of £1100 per ann.’ Next, ‘ b^{pps} charge at
‘ theire consecration; but they observe itt not.’ The next
article is ‘ scandalous bishopps,’ in which certain bishops
are charged with speeches and quotations from Scripture
in drinking healths, cited at length; they are in a strain
of impiety very unfit to appear in any form more cur-
rently legible than the cramped penmanship of Sir Ralph.
The last and 19th article is of ‘ The burdens of B^{pp}’
‘ officers and dependents and servants, &c., being above
‘ £10,000.’ These were the principal heads of the report
of this laborious committee. .

C.

[See page 160.]

Original draft of Ordinance of both Houses, establishing the Committee of Lieutenancy, &c. In the hand-writing of Mr. Richard Grenvil.

FOR the better mannaginge of the affaires of the County of Buck^m, the more effectuall execution of the orders and ordinances of Parliam^t, and the better payinge of Soldyirs belonginge to the Garrison at Aylesbury, bee it ordained by the Lords and Coīmons in Parliam^t assembled, that Sir Peeter Temple,¹ of Stowe, Baronett, Sir Richard Ingoldsby,² Sir Ralph Verney,³ Sir Alexander Denton,⁴ Sir William Andrewes,⁵ Sir Thomas Sanders,⁶ Sir Richard Pigott,⁷ Knights, Sir John Lawrence,⁸ Baronett, Sir Heneage Proby,⁹ Knight, Sir William Drake,¹⁰ Baronett, The Gouerhor of Aylesbury for y^e time beinge, Thomas Tyrrill,¹² Boulstrod Whitlocke,¹³ Richard Winwood,¹⁴ Thomas Fontaine,¹⁵ Edmund West,¹⁶ Richard Grenvill,¹⁷ Thomas Tirringham of Netherwinchenden,¹⁸ Thomas Bulstroode,¹⁹ Thomas Archdall,²⁰ Thomas Lane,²¹ Henry Beale,²² Richard Seriant,²³ Raines Low,²⁴ Edm: Waller of Gregory,²⁵ Esquires, Xrofer Egleton,²⁶ Anthonie Carpenter,²⁷ Peeter Dormer,²⁸

Thomas Theed,³⁰ of Leborne, John Deuerell y^e younger,
 of Swanbourne,³¹ Russill, Gent., John Lane,³² Gent., shalbee,
 and are hereby appoynted to bee comittees of the Countie
 of Bucks ; and they or any fwe of them shall dispose the
 affaires of that countie, and shall put in execution all
 and euery the ordinances and comands of either or both
 houses of Parliam^t. And to that purpose the said
 comittee shall soe diuide themselues that fwe of them at
 the least may be continually resident at Aylesbury dur-
 inge the space of three weekes, and then other fwe to
 come in their places, et sic alternis vicibus ; and whoe-
 soeuer shall neglect or refuse after notice hereof giuen
 to be psent and execute their authority hereby giuen
 when his turn cometh, shallbee taken for a delinquent,
 and his estate sequestered.

This comittee shall with all conuenient speede (either
 by themselues or by some other pson chosen by any fwe
 or more of them for that purpose) take perforce accounts
 of all such moneys and other goods and profitts as haue
 bin taken and seised wthin the said countye by uertue
 of any order or ordinance of either or both houses of
 Parliam^t, and likewise of such moneyes as haue been or
 shalbee allowed out of any other Countye for the mayn-
 tenance of the garrison at Aylesbury, soe that there maie
 bee a pfect account giuen thereof when it shallbee called
 for, and to that end the said comittee or other pson by
 them chosen, shall haue power to send for parties, wit-
 nesses, and writinges.

This comittee, or any five or more of them, shall wth all conuenient speede make choise of one able and sufficient person whoe hath a real responsible estate in the said countye of Buck to be Treasurer of y^e said Countye, unto whom all mony collected in the said countye, and allsoe the money allowed out of any other countyes for the mayntenance of the said garrison, shallbee paid and deliuered. Said Treasurer shall not issue out any of y^e said money wthout warrante in writinge under the hands of five or more of the said comittee.

This comittee shall, either by themselues or by such person as they or any five or more of them shall appointe, viewe and muster at least once euerie month, and oftener if they thinke it expedient, all y^e souldiers belonginge to the garrison of Aylesbury, w^{ch} are to be paid out of the countie of Buck, and out of the mony allowed out of anie other countyes for the mayntenance of the gard and garrison; and they are to take especiall care that the said souldiers be duly paid. All and sundrie the officers and souldiers belonging to the garrison at Aylesbury shallbee aydinge and assistinge to the said comittee, to compel obedience, if neede require, to the orders and comands of Parliam^t, and to leuy and receiue for them all such sumes of mony as any five or more of the said comittee shall under their hands giue warrante for and estreate out unto them. Alsoe the said comittee shall be aydinge and assistinge to the governor of the said garrison, as oft as neede shall require, in raysinge

and summoninge the countye for strengtheninge the garrison.

It is the true intent and meaninge of this ordinance that nothings shallbee altered by this comittee, unlesse five of them att the least be present att the debate thereof at Aylesbury.

D.

[See page 161.]

By the King.

A Proclamation, by His Majestie, requiring the Aid and Assistance of all His Subjects on the North-side *Trent*, and within twenty Miles Southward thereof, for the suppressing of the Rebels, now marching against Him.

WHEREAS divers Persons, bearing an inward Hatred and Malice against Our Person and Government, and ambitious of Rule and places of Preferment and Command, have raised an Army, and are now trayterously and rebelliously, (though under the specious pretence of Our Royall Name and Authority, and of the defence of Our Person and Parliament) marching in Battell Array, against Us their Liege Lord and Sovereign, contrary to their Duty and Allegiance, whereby the common Peace is like to be wholly destroyed, and this flourishing Kingdom in danger to perish under the miseries of a Civill War, if the Malice and Rage of these Persons be not instantly resisted: And as we do, and must relie on Al-

mighty God (the Protector and Defender of his Anointed) to defend Us, and Our good People, against the Malice and Pernicious designs of these men, tending to the utter ruine of Our Person, the true Protestant Religion, the Laws established, the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and the very Being of Parliaments; So we doubt not but Our good People will in this necessity Contribute unto Us, with all Alacrity and Cheerfulnesse, their assistance in their Persons, Servants, and Money, for the suppression of the same Rebellion: And therein We cannot but with much contentment of heart acknowledge the Love and Affection of Our Subjects of Our County of *York*, and divers other Counties, in their free and ready assistance of Us, which We shall never forget; and Our Posterity will, as We hope, ever remember, for their good.

Nevertheless, in this Our extream necessitie, though we have been most unwilling, We are now inforced, for Our most just and necessary Defence, again to call and invite them, and all other Our Subjects, of the true Protestant Religion, reciding on the North side of *Trent*, or within twenty Miles Southward thereof, whose hearts God Almighty shall touch with a true sence and apprehension of Our sufferings, and of the ill use, which the Contrivers, and Fomenters of this Rebellion, have made of Our Clemency, and desire of Peace, That according to their Allegiance, and as they tender the safety of Our Person, the Property of their Estates, their just Liberties, the true Protestant Religion, and Priviledges of Parlia-

ment, and indeed the very Being of Parliaments, they attend Our Person upon Munday, the two and twentieth day of this instant *August*, at Our Town of *Nottingham*, Where, and when We intend to erect Our Standard Royall, in Our just and necessary Defence, and whence We resolve to advance forward for the suppression of the said Rebellion, and the Protection of Our good Subjects amongst them, from the burthen of the Slavery and Insolence, under which they cannot but groan, till they be relieved by Us.

And We likewise call, and invite all Our Subjects, of the true Protestant Religion, in the remoter parts of this Our Kingdom, to whom notice of this Our Proclamation cannot so soon arive, That with all speed possible, as they tender the forenamed Considerations, they attend Our Person in such Place as we shall then happen to Encamp; And such of Our said Subjects, as shall come unto Us (either to Our said Town of *Nottingham*, or to any other place, where We shall happen to Encamp) Armed, and Arrayed, with Horse, Pistolls, Muskets, Pikes, Corslets, Horses for Dragoons, or other fitting Arms and Furniture, We shall take them into Our Pay, (such of them excepted, who shall be willing, as Volunteers, to serve Us in this Our necessity without Pay.) And whosoever shall, in this Our Danger and Necessity, supply Us either by Guift, or Loan of Money, or Plate, for this Our necessary Defence (wherein they also are so neerly concerned) We shall, as soon as God shall enable Us, repay whatsoever is so lent, and upon all Occasions

Remember, and Reward those Our good Subjects, according to the measure of their Love, and Affections to Us and their Countrey.

Given at Our Court at York the twelfth day of August, in the eighteenth yeer of Our Reign, 1642.

E.

[See page 302.]

‘ **A Great Wonder in Heaven, shewing the late Apparitions and Prodigious Noyses of War and Battels, seen on Edge-Hill, neere Keinton in Northampton-shire.**—Certified under the Hands of **WILLIAM WOOD, Esquire, and Justice for the Peace in the said Countie, SAMUEL MARSHALL, Preacher of Gods Word in Keinton, and other Persons of Qualitie.**—London: Printed for Thomas Jackson, Jan. 23, Anno Dom. 1642.

‘ **THAT** there hath beene, and ever will be, Laruæ, Spectra, and such like apparitions, namely, Ghosts and Goblins, hath beene the opinion of all the famoussest Divines of the Primitive Church, and is, (though oppugned by some,) the received Doctrine of divers learned men at this day; their opinion being, indeed, ratified and confirmed by divers Texts of Scripture, as the Divells possessing the Swine, and the men possessed with Divells, in the Acts of the Apostles, that came out of them, and beat the Exorcists, by which it is evidently confirmed that those legions of erring angels that fell with their great Master Lucifer, are not all confined to the locall Hell, but live scattered, here and there, dispersed in the empty regions of the ayre, as thicke as motes in the

‘ Sunne; and those are the things which our too super-
‘ stitious ancestors called Elves, and Goblins, Furies, and
‘ the like, such as were those who appeared to Macbeth,
‘ the after King of Scotland, and foretold him of his
‘ fortunes both in life and death. It is evident, besides,
‘ that the Divell can condense the ayre into any shape
‘ he pleaseth, as hee is a subtill spirit, thin and open, and
‘ rancke himselfe into any forme or likenesse, as Saint
‘ Augustin, Prudentius, Hieronimus, Cyril, Saint Basil
‘ the Great, and none better then our late Sovereigne
‘ King James, of ever-living memory, in his Treatise de
‘ Demonologia, hath sufficiently proved. But, to omit
‘ circumstance and preamble; no man that thinkes hee
‘ hath a soule, but will verily and confidently believe that
‘ there are divells; and so, consequently, such divells as
‘ appeare either in premonstrance of Gods Judgements,
‘ or as fatall Embassadors to declare the message of
‘ mortality and destruction to offending nations, and hath,
‘ in Germany and other places, afflicted afterwards with
‘ the horror of a civill and forraigne warres, notoriously
‘ manifested.

‘ But to our purpose. Edge-Hill, in the very confines
‘ of Warwickshire, neere unto Keynton in Northampton-
‘ shire, a place, as appeares by the sequele, destined for
‘ civill warres and battells; as where King John fought
‘ a battell with his Barons, and where, in defence of the
‘ Kingdomes lawes and libertie, was fought a bloody
‘ conflict betweene his Majesties and the Parliaments
‘ forces; at this Edge-Hill, in the very place where the

' battell was strucken, have since, and doth appeare,
' strange and portentuous Apparitions of two jarring and
' contrary Armies, as I shall in order deliver, it being
' certified by the men of most credit in those parts, as
' William Wood, Esquire, Samuel Marshall, Minister,
' and others, on Saturday, which was in Christmas time,
' as if the Saviour of the world, who died to redeem
' mankinde, had beene angry that so much Christian
' blood was there spilt, and so had permitted these infer-
' nall Armies to appeare where the corporeall Armies had
' shed so much blood;—between twelve and one of the
' clock in the morning was heard by some shepherds,
' and other countrey-men, and travellers, first the sound
' of drummes afar off, and the noyse of soulders, as it
' were, giving out their last groanes; at which they were
' much amazed, and amazed stood still, till it seemed,
' by the neernesse of the noyse, to approach them; at
' which too much affrighted, they sought to withdraw as
' fast as possibly they could; but then, on the sudden,
' whilst they were in these cogitations, appeared in the
' ayre the same incorporeall souldiers that made those
' clamours, and immediately, with Ensignes display'd,
' Drummes beating, Musquets going off, Cannons dis-
' charged, Horses neyghing, which also to these men
' were visible, the alarum or entrance to this game of
' death was strucke up, one Army, which gave the first
' charge, having the Kings colours, and the other the
' Parliaments, in their head or front of the battells, and
' so pell mell to it they went; the battell that appeared

‘ to the Kings forces seeming at first to have the best,
‘ but afterwards to be put into apparent rout ; but till two
‘ or three in the morning in equall scale continued this
‘ dreadfull fight, the clattering of Armes, noyse of Can-
‘ nons, cries of souldiers, so amazing and terrifying the
‘ poore men, that they could not believe they were mor-
‘ tall, or give credit to their eares and eyes ; runne away
‘ they durst not, for feare of being made a prey to these
‘ infernall souldiers, and so they, with much feare and
‘ affright, stayed to behold the successe of the businesse,
‘ which at last suited to this effect: after some three
‘ houres fight, that Army which carryed the Kings colours
‘ withdrew, or rather appeared to flie ; the other remain-
‘ ing, as it were, masters of the field, stayed a good space
‘ triumphing, and expressing all the signes of joy and
‘ conquest, and then, with all their Drummes, Trumpets,
‘ Ordnance, and Souldiers, vanished ; the poore men
‘ glad they were gone, that had so long staid them there
‘ against their wils, made with all haste to Keinton, and
‘ there knocking up Mr. Wood, a Justice of Peace, who
‘ called up his neighbour, Mr. Marshall, the Minister,
‘ they gave them an account of the whole passage, and
‘ averred it upon their oaths to be true. At which
‘ affirmation of theirs, being much amazed, they should
‘ hardly have given credit to it, but would have conjec-
‘ tured the men to have been either mad or drunk, had
‘ they not knowne some of them to have been of ap-
‘ proved integritie : and so, suspending their judgements
‘ till the next night about the same.houre, they, with the

‘ same men, and all the substantiall Inhabitants of that
‘ and the neighbouring parishes, drew thither; where,
‘ about halfe an houre after their arrivall, on Sunday,
‘ being Christmas night, appeared in the same tumultuous
‘ warlike manner, the same two adverse Armies, fighting
‘ with as much spite and spleen as formerly: and so de-
‘ parted the Gentlemen and all the spectatours, much
‘ terrified with these visions of horreur, withdrew them-
‘ selves to their houses, beseeching God to defend them
‘ from those hellish and prodigious enemies. The next
‘ night they appeared not, nor all that week, so that the
‘ dwellers thereabout were in good hope they had for ever
‘ departed; but on the ensuing Saturday night, in the
‘ same place, and at the same houre, they were again
‘ seene, with far greater tumult, fighting in the manner
‘ afore-mentioned for foure houres, or verie neere, and
‘ then vanished, appearing againe on Sunday night, and
‘ performing the same actions of hostilitie and blood-
‘ shed; so that both Mr. Wood and others, whose faith,
‘ it should seeme, was not strong enough to carrie them
‘ out against these delusions, forsook their habitations
‘ thereabout, and retired themselves to other more secure
‘ dwellings; but Mr. Marshall stayed, and some other;
‘ and so successively the next Saturday and Sunday the
‘ same tumults and prodigious sights and actions were
‘ put in the state and condition they were formerly. The
‘ rumour whereof comming to his Majestie at Oxford,
‘ he immediately dispatched thither Colonell Lewis Kirke,
‘ Captaine Dudley, Captaine Wainman, and three other

‘ Gentlemen of credit, to take the full view and notice
‘ of the said businesse, who, first hearing the true attest-
‘ ation and relation of Mr. Marshall and others, staid
‘ there till Saturday night following, wherein they heard
‘ and saw the fore-mentioned prodigies, and so on Sunday,
‘ distinctly knowing divers of the apparitions or incorpo-
‘ reall substances by their faces, as that of Sfr Edmund
‘ Varney, and others that were there slaine; of which
‘ upon oath they made testimony to his Majestie. What
‘ this does portend God only knoweth, and time perhaps
‘ will discover; but doubtlesly it is a signe of his wrath
‘ against this Land, for these civill wars, which He in his
‘ good time finish, and send a sudden peace between his
‘ Majestie and Parliament.—FINIS.’

THE END.

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